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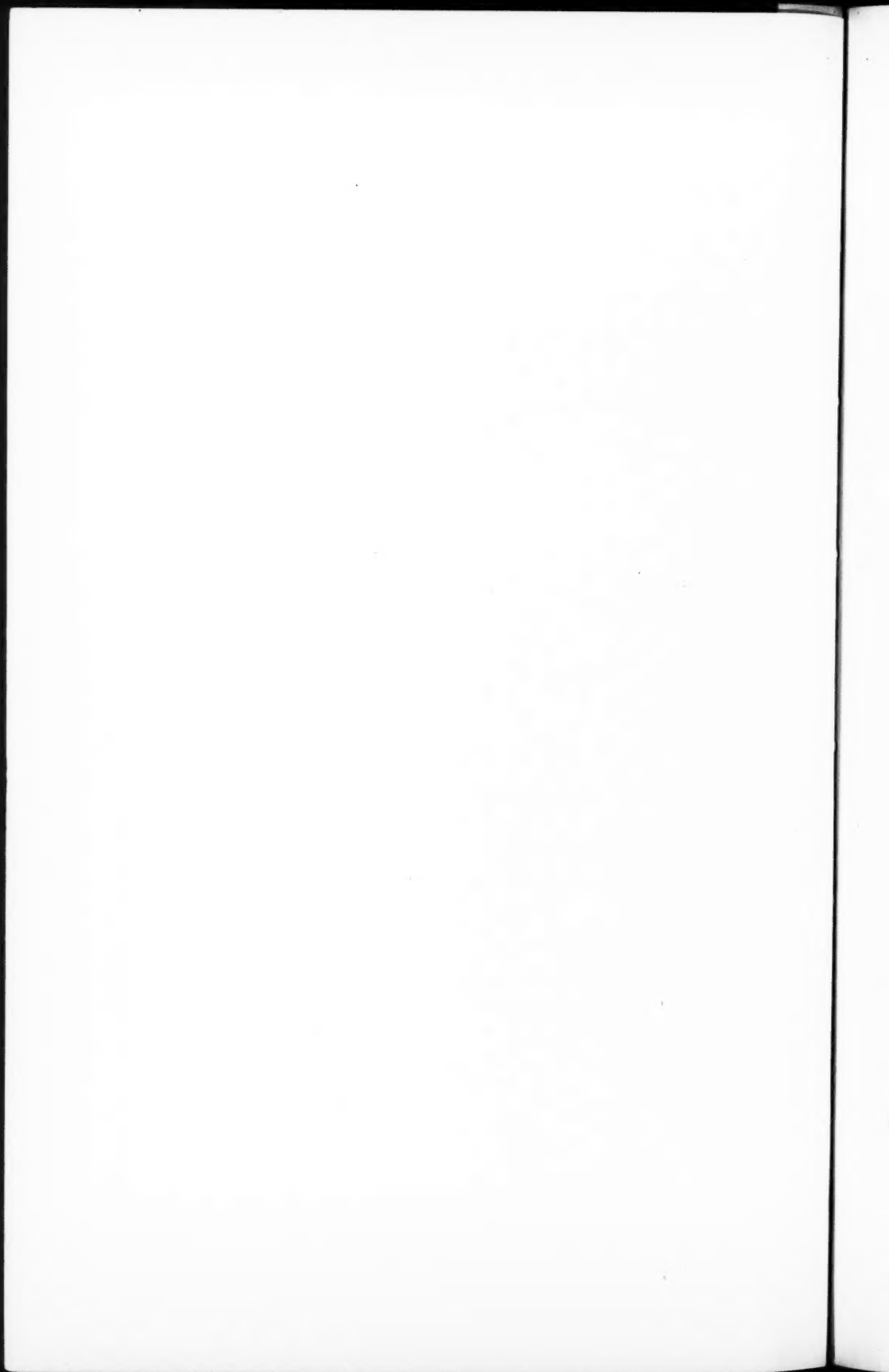
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MICHIGAN HISTORY MAGAZINE

VOLUME VI 1922 No. 4

GEORGE N. FULLER, Editor



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HISTORICAL NEWS, NOTES AND COMMENT

Prof. E. H. Ryder of the Michigan Agricultural College was among the speakers at the Summer meeting of the Clinton County Pioneer Society, which was held at St. Johns.

The Supervisors of Iosco County have voted \$200, in accord with the Weissert Act of 1920, to aid the Pioneer Society to compile a history of the county. Mr. W. H. Price, president of the Society, and Miss Ina Bradley, county school commissioner, presented to the Board the need of a text book on local history for use in the schools. An active part in the gathering of material for this volume will be taken by the schools of the county.

Mr. Harold Titus, well known novelist, author of *Timber* and numerous stories of Michigan, has been elected secretary of the newly organized Grand Traverse Historical Society. Mr. L. H. Gage, one of the oldest residents of the county, was a prime mover in the formation of the Society. The principal objects of the Society will be to preserve historic sites and gather data for a history of the county.

The summer meeting of the Eaton County Pioneer and Historical Society was held at Charlotte. Dr. Paul Voelker, president of Olivet College, gave the chief address, on the spirit of the pioneer. Daniel M. Strange of Grand Ledge, the historian of the Society, read the first chapter of the history of the county which he is writing, and a committee consisting of Sumner Hamlin, editor of the *Eaton Rapids Journal*, and Frank A. Ellis, editor of the *Charlotte Leader*, were appointed to consider means of publishing this history when completed. Mr. Frank N. Green was elected president for next year, when the Society will go to Bellevue, which celebrates the 90th anniversary of its founding in 1923.

Congratulations to the Tribune Publishing Company of Manistique, which has taken steps to preserve from destruction by fire or otherwise, the files of the *Pioneer-Tribune* for the past 40 years, by renting storage space in the new safety deposit vaults of the First National Bank for the 60 volumes covering this period. These volumes are of priceless value, being now the only records containing the history of the city. The company announces that it will be glad to receive and pay for copies of any paper, record or photo concerning the history of Manistique previous to the files now on hand. Early files were lost in a fire which destroyed the plant of the company some 40 years ago.

Mr. W. W. Warner was elected president of the Allegan County Pioneer Society at a recent meeting, and Mrs. Winona Moore Sherwood secretary, both of Allegan.

At the summer meeting of the Washtenaw County Pioneer Society, Mrs. Byron A. Finney of Ann Arbor

was elected secretary to succeed Mr. Robert Campbell, deceased, who had been for 22 years the faithful secretary of the organization. This meeting was notable for the chronicle of an unusually large number of deaths among the older pioneers, reported by the president, Mr. M. S. White. Mr. O. C. Burkhart was elected president for next year.

What was unanimously voted the best and biggest Old Settlers' picnic in the history of the Association was held in the pretty groves of Benzonia last summer, when pioneers from all corners of the Grand Traverse Region met in annual reunion. From every county in the region drove men and women who came to Northern Michigan with the first whites, took possession of the forests and made settlement of the region possible. They are old men and women now but their memories were unimpaired when they sat beneath the trees of the pretty academy town and retold the yarns of early days. W. S. Anderson found three pioneers who have been in the Grand Traverse Region for more than 70 years and each of whom is more than 80 years of age. Harvey Avery of Grand Traverse County, Archie Buttars of Charlevoix and J. Judson of Benzonia were the three oldest settlers attending the picnic. Old Mission was selected as the picnic place for next year and E. O. Ladd was elected president. Other officers elected were Mrs. J. G. Mills, secretary; A. V. Friedrich, treasurer, and Mrs. N. C. Morgan, historian.

On April 20 *Moderator-Topics* (Michigan Education Co., Lansing) began the publication of a series of articles on "Housing Our Public Servants," containing much historical data relative to the various buildings occupied by State officers from the days of the "first

Capitol," which was erected at Detroit about 1825. The series is interestingly written, by "Philetus Phillips" (Mr. Gildart, of the *Moderator-Topics* staff) and will prove of service to teachers of history and government. We hope to see these articles published together and made available in pamphlet form.

The students of the Traverse City schools have been gathering data for an Industrial History of that city. They visited the various factories and prepared reports of what they saw and heard, and these were graded and the best sent in to the office of the Supt. of Schools, Mr. Charles L. Poor, who writes: "This fall we plan to have the Commercial Department type-write enough copies of these to furnish each building with one for use in studying the various industries represented. It will have a value in vocational guidance, also in boosting our own industries and city. The interest has been keen both on the part of pupils and of manufacturers."

At the summer meeting of the Emmet County Pioneer Association it is estimated that 2,500 people were in attendance, from all parts of the region. A most profitable and enjoyable time is reported.

Prof. Lew Allen Chase, head of the history department in the Northern State Normal at Marquette and secretary of the Marquette County Historical Society writes, that the Society is making steady progress with cataloging its fine collection of books, pamphlets, manuscripts, newspapers, and museum objects. Miss Olive Pendill has charge of the Collection as curator of the Society, and has engaged the services of Miss Anna Lagregen, chief cataloguer of the Chicago His-

torical Society, to assist temporarily. The Society has also procured considerable new filing equipment for its fine rooms in the Peter White Public Library and is preparing to provide such other facilities as may be required for the proper public use of its Collections.

The Railway and Locomotive Historical Society is issuing publications of great value to all interested in the history of rail transportation in Michigan. Mr. R. W. Carlson of Escanaba, Mich., is corresponding secretary of the Society.

The Twentieth Century, Vol. I, number I, published in Detroit by the Clarendon Publishing Co., made its appearance in June. This welcome new monthly is devoted to history, biography, art, literature and current events. The price is \$1.50 a year. The first number contains sixteen pages, every one of much interest. Mr. J. T. Fielding is editor, and Miss E. Cora DuPuy associate editor, 311 Majestic Building.

Miss Alice Louise McDuffee of Kalamazoo was recently elected Vice President General of the National Society, Daughters of the American Revolution, being succeeded in the State regency by Mrs. L. Victor Seydel of Grand Rapids, who was formerly State Vice Regent for Michigan. The Michigan Historical Commission accords high praise for the excellent work that has been done by the Daughters of the American Revolution in Michigan under the direction of Miss McDuffee as State Regent.

The summer meeting of the Huron County Pioneer and Historical Society is reported to have been one of the most successful meetings ever held by the Society.

The meeting took place at Port Hope. An interesting program was given in the fine pavilion. Among the speakers was Mr. C. D. Thompson of Bad Axe, and Mr. Geo. H. Howe of Port Huron, secretary of the St. Clair County Pioneer and Historical Society. Mrs. Florence M. Gwinn, secretary of the Huron County Society, was elected a delegate to the annual meeting of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society at Lansing next May.

Seventy-five years ago, on March 16, 1847, the bill was signed making Lansing the capital of Michigan. Teachers will find a number of interesting articles on the subject of the removal of the Capital from Detroit to Lansing, in the *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*. Vol. 8 has two, one on "Locating the State Capital at Lansing," and another "Removal of the State Capitol from Detroit" (pp. 121-135). Vol. 11 contains "How Lansing Became the Capital" (pp. 237-243). Vol. 33 has "Driving the First Stake for the Capitol at Lansing" (pp. 10-22).

Among articles of local historic interest appearing in our exchanges since the last issue are the following:

Historical and Pioneer Sketches—Williamston *Enterprise*, June 7 to Aug. 16.

Grand Haven History—Grand Haven *Daily Tribune*, June 28.

A History of Saugatuck's Transportation—Holland *Sentinel*, June 30.

A Forgotten City—Allegan *Gazette*, July 1.

Detroit's Priceless Historic Library, by W. Woolsey Campau—Detroit *Free Press*, July 23.

Recollections of a Pioneer—L'Anse *Sentinel*, Aug. 11.

The *Chelsea Tribune* says this of history in advertising: "Historians who study newspapers to learn the habits and customs of peoples say they gain more information from advertisements than from news accounts, and that the information imparted in advertisements is more accurate. Advertisements tell their stories without the intrusion of the editorial blue pencil. They show the development in transit, they disclose the changing conditions of the home, they announce the birth of scientific discovery and invention, they prove the worth of that which is true and lasting and unmercifully expose the sham and the fraud. They tell of our varying taste in dress, they show our belief in sanitation, they disclose our love of sport, describe our work, they mark the change in the status of womanhood and youth, they visualize the moulding of our morals and our methods."

In a recent address to students at Lincoln College, Nebraska, former United States Senator Lawrence Y. Sherman paid this compliment to most of the school histories long in use, that "they would shed more light on a disordered world in a bonfire than in the school room." (Did we hear a voice, saying, "Amen, Senator"?)

THE ANNUAL SUMMER MEETING of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society was held at St. Ignace, Mackinac Island, and Mackinaw City, July 27-29, with headquarters on the Island at the New Murray hotel and the John Jacob Astor House.

The summer meeting is one of the most enjoyable meetings held by the Society during the year, and is usually held in the Upper Peninsula at the invitation

of some city or local society. This year it was held at the joint invitation of the three cities of the Straits, and a more enjoyable occasion has rarely been experienced by those in attendance. The place and time were specially fine for a combination of summer pleasures with historical profit. The romantic background of the Mackinac country, with its early missions, the fur trade, the wild life of the forests and of the Indians and the military regime at the forts, made an atmosphere most happy for a meeting at this time of the year, and the hospitality of the citizens of the Straits left nothing to be desired.

The opening session was held at St. Ignace July 27. Visiting delegates and guests who had gathered at the Island were taken by the Arnold Transit Company's boat to St. Ignace, and delegations began arriving early from southern Michigan and points west in the Upper Peninsula. Local arrangements were in charge of Rev. Fr. J. T. Holland, of St. Ignatius Church. The program was given at Marquette Park, in memory of the famous missionary, Father James Marquette, who founded the mission at that point in 1671, and whose remains lie buried there on the site of the Mission Church. Upon the platform erected near the monument were gathered representatives of other churches, and leading citizens of St. Ignace, including Mayor A. R. Highstone and attorney Prentiss M. Brown, who presided. The mayor in his genial manner extended the city's welcome to the visitors. Secretary G. N. Fuller of the State Society responded in place of President Alvah L. Sawyer of Menominee, who was absent on account of illness. The principal speakers of the day were Rev. William F. Gagnieur, S. J. of

Sault Ste. Marie and Rev. John McClorey, S. J. of the University of Detroit, whose excellent addresses will later appear in the Michigan History Magazine. The music was in charge of Miss Blanche Giasson of St. Ignace. An excellent dinner was provided by St. Ignace citizens at the Hotel Northern, the well-known hostelry presided over by Mr. O. P. Welch, after which an auto ride was enjoyed, a courtesy extended by St. Ignace business men. Those who were present that day will long remember the hospitality of St. Ignace and this most enjoyable program.

July 28 the Society met at Mackinaw City, at the Michilimackinac State Park. Crossing from Mackinac Island on the Algomah on the eleven o'clock trip the guests were met by Mrs. W. P. Robertson and entertained at the beautiful Hotel Windermere until dinner time. Dinner was served at "The Old Fashioned Inn" in the elegant service they have been noted for since their opening. Members of the Society were very highly pleased with the service which appealed to the eye, and with the menu which appealed to the inner man.

After dinner the members of the Society and guests were escorted to the Park where they were cordially greeted by the manager of the Pavilion, Mr. Lloyd Stimpson, who proved a most gracious host.

The program was in charge of Mrs. W. P. Robertson who introduced the speakers in her usual gracious manner.

Stanley Newton of the "Soo" gave a very interesting talk about Alexander Henry and the massacre of 1763. Brayton Saltonstall of Charlevoix gave a very entertaining sketch of Chief Keshkauko, one of the Indians who fully exemplified Miles Standish's opinion

of Indians, that the only good Indian is a dead one. Mrs. James T. Flaherty of Grand Rapids was introduced and spoke briefly of a scenario she has prepared with much time and study, an Historical Pageant of Michigan. Mrs. James Campbell, also of Grand Rapids, spoke very forcibly against the billboards she saw while driving through the State Park. Frances Margaret Fox, the popular writer of Children's stories spoke briefly, suggesting that the name of Mackinaw City be changed to Michilimackinac. A suggestion from Mr. Lew Allen Chase of Marquette that one of the main trunk auto roads be named the Red Arrow in honor of the 32nd division of the U. S. A. who made such a record of daring and bravery during the World War met with hearty approval. Mr. Merriot from the Soo spoke briefly on the work of the Sault Historical Society. Mrs. Luella Overton spoke upon the need of a museum to preserve the history of this section. Citizens of Mackinaw voted the afternoon one of the most enjoyable they have had since the dedication of the park about fourteen years ago. Messrs. Galbraith, Sommers, Hall and Stimpson gathered the guests into cars and gave them a ride through the park and to the dock where they boarded the Algomah for Mackinac Island. Citizens expressed the hope of having the Society meet with them again in the near future.

The sessions held on Mackinac Island came Thursday and Friday evenings and Saturday. Mr. Frank A. Kenyon, Superintendent of Mackinac Island State Park, was in charge of arrangements and made a royal host. Through his kindness the Society was able to hold its meetings in the old Commissary building at

the Fort. Thursday evening Rev. Charles J. Johnson, historian of the Marquette County Historical Society, addressed the meeting in a very able and useful paper on the "Pageant of St. Luson," at Sault Ste. Marie in 1671, when France formally and picturesquely took possession of the Great Lakes region and tributary lands.

Friday evening was given over to a dedication of the Fort Museum and Historical Rooms, and to an address by the Rev. Percy G. H. Robinson upon the history of Trinity Church, Mackinac Island. Rev. Johnson of Marquette presided. Mr. Frank Kenyon in a delightfully informal talk gave a brief history of the Fort Museum, which came into being during his superintendency. Brief addresses appropriate to the occasion were made also by Rev. Carlos H. Hanks of Newark, Ohio, Mr. Junius E. Beal of Ann Arbor, and Mr. Lucius L. Hubbard of Houghton. Following the meeting a visit was made to the museum.

Saturday forenoon, starting from Convention headquarters, delegates and guests were given a ride to points of scenic and historic interest on the Island, and in the afternoon an open air meeting was held on the Fort grounds near the old barracks, Secretary Fuller presiding. Mr. Harold Titus, well-known novelist and story writer of Traverse City, gave a most entertaining address upon the Study of Michigan history in the schools, and particularly on the possibilities of historical work in the north country. A general discussion followed upon methods of study and research in the local field, resulting in the exchange of many useful suggestions.

The meeting of the Society next summer will be held at Ironwood, in Gogebic County.

THE SARA CASWELL ANGELL CHAPTER of the D. A. R. and the Washtenaw Chapter of the S. A. R. recently co-operated in placing a monument to mark the place where the Old Territorial Trail left Ann Arbor, the ladies furnishing the tablet and the men the boulder. The boulder is a splendid specimen about ninety per cent granite and weighing, as near as can be estimated, five tons. It was brought in to Ann Arbor by a four-horse team from about seven miles west on the Jackson road.

Regent Beal of the University gave a very instructive talk on old trails, and Dean W. B. Hinsdale told how the boulders were brought to this part of the State from north of the Great Lakes by the glaciers. He called them the "first immigrants to the United States."

Miss Sara Whedon, Regent of the Sara Caswell Angell Chapter of the D. A. R., presented the monument to the city, and Mayor Geo. E. Lewis, on the part of the city, accepted it, and in his remarks said that he wished there were more societies like the S. A. R. and the D. A. R. to assist in beautifying the city and in placing monuments to mark the old historic places which abound in this region.

The tablet was unveiled by Mrs. Herbert M. Slauson and Milton E. Osborn, the chairmen of the committees of their respective societies.

Those passing through Ann Arbor will observe the monument about a mile out West Huron St. at the fork of the roads leading to Dexter and Jackson.

STEPHEN EDWIN WHITTIER WAIT, pioneer educator and philanthropist of the Grand Traverse region, was honored on July 21, 1922, by the citizens of Grand Traverse County. This day would have been his 88th birthday had he lived. There was placed to his memory a granite boulder bearing a bronze tablet, with the inscription:

In Memory of
S. E. Whittier Wait
Born July 21st 1834
Died March 17th 1919

Who taught the first school in the Grand Traverse Region, during the winter of 1851, aboard the schooner Madeline, anchored off this point.

Mr. Wait was born in Fairfield, Vt., July 21, 1834, the son of John James Whittier by his first wife, Maryann Elizabeth (Fox). After the divorce of his father and mother, the boy accompanied his mother, who went west from the Vermont home, and later married a Mr. Wait, who adopted the boy and brought him up under that name, by which he has been known ever since.

While he was still a boy the family moved into what was then the wilderness of Michigan Territory, and it was here that Mr. Wait spent the remainder of his life, following such occupations as the development of the new Territory demanded, finally settling down as the leading pharmacist of Traverse City, in which profession he has trained all his children.

It is fitting that a memorial should be dedicated to the first school teacher of the Grand Traverse region. It was seventy-one years ago, in November of 1851 in fact, that Stephen Edwin Whittier Wait took the contract to teach the crew of the schooner Madeline while the schooner was tied up for the winter at what is now Bowers Harbor.

In addition to the 17-year-old teacher, the school consisted of five boys, or rather men, who wished to improve their education during the cold weather. Comfortable quarters were established aboard the schooner, and regular school hours and discipline kept, but outside of the school hours the six improved their opportunities in other ways. The five students were: Wm. Fitzgerald, Michael Fitzgerald, and John Fitzgerald (brothers), and Wm. Bryce and Edw. Chambers.

Mr. Wait was not only the first school teacher, but the first in many other things that made for the development of the Grand Traverse region. The erection of the granite boulder with the bronze tablet is a small thing, but it will help keep awake the sentiment of progress that was his life. The Grand Traverse Woman's Club was largely instrumental in securing this memorial.

THE SUBJECT OF THE STUDENTS' PRIZE ESSAY contest in Michigan History for 1922-23 is "A Treasure Hunt."

Some folks seek fame, some seek for gold, some seek for treasures of an historical character. Priceless historical treasures lie within easy reach of almost every one—old letters, photographs, pictures, diaries, early newspapers, scrap books, account books, Bible records,

genealogies, Indian and pioneer relics, of endless description.

The essay in this contest should tell the story of an historical "Treasure Hunt" made by the student. It should describe some of the "finds," tell how they were discovered, and show how they are of historical value.

THE CONTEST IS OPEN TO ALL STUDENTS OF ALL SCHOOLS IN MICHIGAN. IN FORMER CONTESTS THE STUDENTS IN SMALL SCHOOLS HAVE BEEN SUCCESSFUL.

The contest will be conducted jointly in each community by the Supt. of Schools, the Regent of the D. A. R. Chapter, President of the Women's Club, the Chamber of Commerce, or by any one of them, who shall also judge the essays.

First and second prizes will be given in two groups, to students in the Grades, and in the High School. The local committee will determine the local prize to be awarded.

The judges should forward the prize essays to the Michigan Historical Commission on or before April 30, 1923, when they will be examined by the State committee, whose names are signed below. The essays selected by the State committee will be published by the Michigan Historical Commission.

The State committee is composed of the following:

Thomas E. Johnson,
Superintendent of
Public Instruction

Mrs. William R. Alvord,
President, Michigan Fed-
eration of Women's
Clubs

George N. Fuller,
Secretary, Michigan
Historical Commission,
Chairman

Mrs. L. Victor Seydel,
State Regent, Daughters
of the American Revolu-
tion

The essay may be as long as the student desires, but not less than 500 words.

ALL ESSAYS MUST BE TYPEWRITTEN.

Pictures illustrating the essays should be included, if possible.

The winners in the contest for 1920-21, on the subject, "Lessons from the Pioneers," were as follows:

Winners over 15 years of age,

1. Dorothy Zryd, Marquette
2. Helen Dennett, Marquette

Winners under 15 years of age

1. Isabel MacDonald, Marquette
2. Edward R. Tauch, Marquette

Read later
JUNIOR HISTORY CLUBS have been organized the past year in a number of schools, among pupils of the seventh, eighth, and ninth grades, through efforts of the Michigan Historical Commission assisted by the State Department of Public Instruction, the D. A. R. chapters, and Women's clubs. The organization of these History Clubs is simple, and can be adapted to any school. Try it this year.

The teacher acts as president of the club, and the pupils take turns as secretary. Committees are appointed by the teacher on several divisions of local history. There is a committee on Early Settling, dealing with the Indians, wild animals, waterways, and natural advantages for settlement; a committee on the Pioneers, their nationality, customs, and experiences, which involves consulting the early newspapers and official records and a host of personal records such as diaries, letters, account books, old at-

lases, museum objects, etc.; a committee on Names of county, townships, cities, villages and settlements of the locality; a committee on Early Improvements, in roads, railroads, bridges, public buildings, mills, school-houses, and churches; a committee on Early Occupations, fur trade, lumbering, farming, spinning and weaving; a committee on Early Social Life, logging bees, husking bees, quilting bees, barn raisings, spelling matches, singing schools, donation parties; a committee on Important Personages, officers, soldiers, doctors, teachers, preachers, editors and authors; a committee on Pioneer Relics and Museum materials; etc.

Every pupil is on some committee, and tries to help all the committees. In small schools of course there are not enough pupils in the seventh and eighth grades to have all these committees but the work is covered by combining several of them.

Organizing such a club does not take more than one or two class periods at the beginning of the year. One class period a week is given to reports of the committees to show their progress in the work, and competition among the committees to show good work is easy to encourage. Each committee makes a written report of all the information that it is able to obtain on the topic chosen, and this is done each week, rather than for a period covering several weeks, to give it the advantage of immediate interest while the data is warm in the mind. Teachers find that this data makes splendid material for composition work.

When the entire report is written, several copies are made, typewritten if possible. One is kept on file in the school, one sent to the County Commissioner, one to the State Department of Public Instruction,

and one to the Michigan Historical Commission. The local newspaper is of course glad to get a copy to publish for its readers, and this gives the pupils an added impulse to prepare their reports well, to say nothing of the pleasure of seeing the reports in print.

Scarcely anything serves better to stir parents to interest in their local history, and nothing more certainly insures an active interest in local and State history among the boys and girls.

MANY SCHOOLS AND COMMUNITIES IN MICHIGAN observed Magna Charta Day, June 15, along with Flag Day, June 14. The following letter from the State Superintendent of Public Instruction which was sent out to the schools last March through *Moderator-Topics*, is to be highly commended:

My dear Fellow-teachers:

Our institutions, our government, and our civilization are, of course, in great part derived from the mother country.

We understand that practically every institution we have, the majority of our customs, and the most cherished of our liberties come to us as direct heritages from our English forefathers. Public sentiment, of course, has been largely affected by the relationships during and following the Revolutionary War. Today we understand that the Revolutionary War was a part of the struggle for real democracy; the English liberals and the American patriots were fighting for the same principle. Naturally in view of these facts English and American traditions are practically the same. Because of this and to secure better appreciation of our common heritage, and a better and closer understanding with the mother country, it would seem wise to endeavor to bring about the national honoring of the birthday of constitutional government—Magna Charta Day, which is, as you all know, the 15th day of June.

Many prominent people in this country will co-operate in the movement, and we hope that where schools are open at this time that history and government courses, together with any other available agencies, will be used to bring home the importance of the fact that after all American liberty came from seeds sown in the minds and hearts of our English forefathers.

Faithfully yours,

T. E. JOHNSON.

During the present school year, teachers and students will find pleasure and profit in co-operating with the Magna Charta Day Association, of which President Harding is honorary president for the United States, and President Marion L. Burton of the University of Michigan is a member of the National Committee for this country. Every boy and girl in America should be familiar with the origin of trial by jury, the principles of Magna Charta, Habeas Corpus, the Right of Petition, the Petition of Right, the overthrow of the Divine Right of Kings, the Bill of Rights, the development of responsible government through the cabinet system and Parliament, the extension of the franchise, the equitable adjustment of representation, and the development of labor legislation in English speaking countries. Magna Charta Day is a day for perennial observation.

THE DETROIT *Free Press* of May 7, 1922, has the following editorial on "Truth and History":

The school histories are catching it again. This time it is because they are "disrespectful" to national heroes. The unusual complaint is that they are biased, inaccurate or untruthful. Mrs. Arthur O'Neill, of the United Daughters of 1812, is finding fault

with them because she has learned that they have been letting in the light on practices of "the founding fathers" that seems to her to be unseemly.

"It almost seems like a general conspiracy to make a joke of the fathers of our country," asserts Mrs. O'Neill, spiritedly, adding, "it is time to put a stop to it."

Perhaps Mrs. O'Neill is disturbed unduly. It is true there has been, of late, a tendency on the part of those who prepare histories for our school rooms to treat their characters more completely and to give their readers a better understanding of them than was formerly the custom. But the change is for the better. It marks a breaking away from the attitude that regarded history as propaganda and sought to give the people only what was believed to be good for them.

A little truth won't hurt any history. This nation no longer is a stripling. It is full grown and entitled to know the facts about its swaddling days and the men who attended it in that period. The best national interest has not been served by text books which have glorified American diplomacy and arms inordinately, misinformed our youngsters as to the patriotism and prowess of the pioneers and made them believe that our country's growth was accomplished by men of faultless mien and habit. There is enough unconscious error in written history without confusing it by falsifying deliberately.

It is, of course, inexcusable to drag out unflattering incidents from the careers of the founders solely to embroider the record. It is, on the other hand, equally inexcusable to ignore such incidents as shed

light on their characters and the value of their services. And we are not likely to think any the less of George Washington when we learn that he was an excellent judge of wine, or of John Hancock when we know he was found guilty of partaking in a little smuggling expedition. These men were quite human, after all, and it does us no harm to realize it.

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN has acquired forty-one Greek biblical manuscripts at the sale of the library of the late Baroness Burdett-Coutts, in London. These formed by far the most important part of the manuscripts collected by the Baroness while traveling in Albania in 1870-1871. They were probably all written by monks in the monasteries of the Balkan peninsula in the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries, although a few are of later date. They include thirteen of the four Gospels. The value of these manuscripts has long been known to experts from reports which were made on them by the biblical scholars, Caspar René Gregory and Scrivener.

From another source the University has received also a notable Greek manuscript of the tenth century containing the Homilies of St. Chrysostom on the Acts of the Apostles, which quote a considerable portion of the text of Acts from an ancient source used by St. Chrysostom in 400 A. D., when the Homilies were delivered. The manuscript disappeared at the time of the Napoleonic wars and has only recently come to light again.

All these manuscripts come to the University of Michigan as a gift, but neither the name of the donor

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nor the sum paid for them has been made public. Their acquisition will make it possible for the University to continue the work in the field of biblical scholarship which was commenced with the publication of the Freer biblical manuscripts.—*Michigan Alumnus*.

MR. JOHN W. ANDERSON, OF DETROIT, has presented to the University of Michigan a unique collection of 114 original legal documents from the time of Christ and the Apostles. The gift is made in the name of the 1890 law class of the University, of which Mr. Anderson was a member.

The documents are written on papyrus. Nearly all are in Greek, a few being in Demotic, or Demotic and Greek. They were discovered in 1921, on or near the site of the city of Tebtunis, in Egypt, and, on account of the dryness of the soil, are almost perfectly preserved. In many of them, every letter can be read. They are all dated in the reigns of the Emperors Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula and Claudius.

The oldest document is a part of a contract dated in the year 7 A. D. It contains the subscription of a woman, who undertakes not to bring any claim against her brothers. To the same period belongs a marriage contract of the "unrecorded" type which is bilingual, being written in Demotic as well as Greek. Among the other papers embodying agreements of various kinds is a contract for indemnity, dated in the year 48 A. D.

Some of the documents deal with loans, others with the sale of lands, houses, slaves and other property. There are also leases. One of the most interesting is

a lease with a provision for service in lieu of cash payment.

A number contain accounts and receipts, such as receipts for wages and rents and for payments of dowry. There is one receipt for taxes. Of special importance are several petitions to public officials.

The collection, as a whole, touches many aspects of the life of the time, and is full of human interest. It will throw new light upon economic, social and political conditions in the first half century of the Christian era. Up to the present time, material has been very scanty for the decades immediately preceding and following the crucifixion.

The collection was brought to the United States by Professor Francis W. Kelsey as a part of the manuscript material obtained by the University of Michigan expedition. Genuineness of the documents is unquestioned. They were critically examined before acceptance.

The work of reading and interpreting the documents has been committed to Professor A. E. R. Boak, of the University, who will devote several years to the task. Professor Boak eventually will publish all of the texts with a translation and commentary.—*Detroit Free Press*.

AMONG THE BOOKS

OUR SOCIAL HERITAGE, by Graham Wallas, author of *Human Nature in Politics*, and *The Great Society*.

It is refreshing to read this scholarly presentation of themes about which zealots are wont to rant and

vilify. A portion of the material was given in a course of lectures in 1919 on the duties of citizenship in Yale University.

The book is in large degree the making over of the material in the author's earlier volume, *The Great Society*. By the "great" society Mr. Wallas means the complex modern industrial organization as distinguished from the small units which existed in the days when communities were practically self-sufficing. His general thesis in both works is that in the present social structure, "each generation, if it is to live happily and harmoniously, or even is to avoid acute suffering, must adapt to its present needs the social heritage which it received from the preceding generation." He points out that "sometimes, as in the Athens of Pericles, or in Italy of the Renaissance, or France of the Revolution, a wide and conscious effort has been made to survey the whole field of our social heritage, and to bring the old into systematic relation with the new. Such a wide and conscious effort of "reconstruction" may be found by future historians to have followed, after an interval for recovery from nervous exhaustion, the world war of 1914-1918."

He voices this warning: "The new fact of modern industrial organization is spreading over the earth, and we have learnt that the dangers arising from that fact are equally universal. Unless, therefore, an attempt is now made, in many countries and by many thinkers, to see our socially inherited ways of living and thinking as a whole, the nations of the earth, confused and embittered by the events of 1914-1920, may soon be compelled to witness—this without hope or illusion—another more destructive stage in the suicide of civilization."

Chapters 4, 9, 10 and 12 are largely new, dealing with the nation, world co-operation, constitutional monarchy, and the church.

The distinctive feature of Mr. Wallas's treatment of the subject is, that instead of repudiating our social heritage, along with school of Nietzsche and others, he would conserve it and readjust it to meet the actual facts of human nature. "Does society exist for the individual, or the individual for society, or both for each, and in what way?" The average reader will not agree with the author on all points, but he will find in this volume at least an intelligent consideration of problems delightfully presented from the viewpoint of an eminent scholar (Yale University Press, New Haven, Conn., 1921, pp. 307, \$3.00).

THE AMERICAN RAILROAD PROBLEM, by I. Leo Sharfman, Ph. D., Professor of Economics in the University of Michigan.

Professor Sharfman says: "The object of this book is to provide for the intelligent citizen,—including the large inarticulate public, as well as the student, the publicist, the legislator, the business man, the shipper, and the railroad security holder, executive, and employee,—an analysis of the American railroad problem as it presents itself today." No one doubts the far-reaching nature of the problem, for the general welfare; and the ability to reach a satisfactory solution will, he thinks, be a fair test of American democracy.

The interests involved are complex. Not the least of them is the interest of the general public. In this volume this interest is kept uppermost. It is shown

to be the only approach to a just solution, though it has been variously stressed in different periods.

Special attention is given to the post-war railroad situation. Beginning with a chapter on "The War Administration of the Railroads," in which a brief general survey of the problem is traced, the author brings the work down through the war period, and then discusses the essentials of reconstructive policy, the elements of the railroad adjustment, and the Transportation Act of 1920.

The discussion throughout is in non-technical language (The Century Co., New York City, 1921, pp. xvi-474, \$3.00).

AERICAN CATHOLICS IN THE WAR, National Catholic War Council, 1917-1921, by Michael Williams.

This volume is dedicated to the Right Reverend Peter J. Muldoon, D. D., Bishop of Rockford and Chairman of the Administrative Committee, National Catholic War Council. A preface is supplied by the late James Cardinal Gibbons, in which he says:

"This book might in very truth be called the 'promise fulfilled'—the promise made by the Hierarchy assembled in Washington, April, 1917. "That promise meant the consecration in patriotic service not only of our priests and of our religious but also of our laymen and laywomen; it meant not only one organization but every organization; not only one source of support within the command of the body Catholic—chaplains in the service: men in the army and navy: trained Catholic men and women who would devote themselves to all the men of the service:

the support of government appeals by our Catholic parishes, the erection of huts and visitors' houses within the camps here: of service clubs in the cities: of welfare work both at home and abroad.

"That promise was big in its vision; it looked beyond the war into the trying days that would follow. Almost immediately after war was declared the National Catholic War Council was established. Composed of the fourteen Archbishops, the Council operated through an Administrative Committee of four Bishops; this committee, in turn, functioned through two subcommittees, the Committee on Special War Activities and the Knights of Columbus Committee on War Activities. The splendid work of the Knights of Columbus brought glory to them, and to the Church, and great benefits to the country, and has been dealt with by the historians of our devoted Order. This book is particularly concerned with the work accomplished by the Committee on Special War Activities. From the first day of the War Council's activity, its interests were in care of Rev. John J. Burke, C.S.P., Chairman of the Committee on Special War Activities. While the text of this narrative will bear testimony to his singular insight, efficiency and devotion, I feel it a duty to add here the expression of my gratitude to him and of my admiration for the qualities of mind and heart that he brought to the doing of a great work for Church and country.

"The National Catholic War Council united in patriotic effort all Catholic organizations: it aided the government by immediate contact in Washington: it explained and it defended Catholic rights. Its beneficial work was extended to all soldiers and sailors:

its employment and reconstruction work was not, and is not, confined to Catholics: its community welfare work is for the entire community.

"It has brought into national expression the Catholic principles of justice and of fraternal service that bespeak the continued prosperity and happiness of America as a nation.

"It has opened the way for its successor—the National Catholic Welfare Council—to win still greater achievements in the days of peace for God and for country."

The earlier chapters of the book tell the part played by the Catholic Church in previous wars of the United States. A large portion of the remainder is devoted to the story of the organization of the National Catholic War Council and its work. Specially interesting are the chapters on the work done by Catholic women. Many Michigan Catholics were engaged in war work through this Council, but the lack of an index makes it hard to find them. Father John R. Command of Detroit has been for some time chief in charge of gathering the data for the history of Michigan Catholics in the War, and it is hoped that a special volume on their work may be forthcoming in the near future.

THE SHORT CONSTITUTION, by Martin J. Wade and William F. Russell, with annotations by Charles H. Meyerholz.

Mr. Wade is a United States District Court judge, and Mr. Russell is Dean of the College of Education in the State University of Iowa. Mr. Meyerholz is Professor of Political Science in the Iowa State Teachers

College. These names speak for the character of this work.

"What has America done for me and for my children?" is the question in the hearts of millions of Americans today, and the authors speak this word to teachers:

"All those who attempt to teach Americanism to foreigners, and to Americans, must be prepared to answer this question. It can only be answered by teaching the individual guaranties of the Constitution of the United States, and of the States, which protect life and liberty and property.

"It can only be answered by convincing the people that this is a land of justice and of opportunity for all; that if there be abuses, they are due not to our form of government, but that the people are themselves to blame, because of their ignorance of their rights, their failure to realize their power, and their neglect of those duties which citizenship imposes.


"All over the land earnest men and women are endeavoring to teach the great truths of Americanism, and with substantial success; but those who understand human nature realize that the faith of our fathers can only be firmly established by lighting the fires of patriotism and loyalty in the hearts of our children. Through them the great truths of our National life can be brought into the homes of the land.

"And the Nation will never be safe until the Constitution is carried into the homes, until at every fire-side young and old shall feel a new sense of security in the guaranties which are found in this great charter of human liberty, and a new feeling of gratitude for the blessings which it assures to this, and to all future generations."

This little book is one of a series of volumes entitled "Elementary Americanism," intended for use in the home, the club, the school, and in general Americanization work. It is not a text book on civics, but a study of human rights under the Constitution. It is based upon the idea that patriotism is of the spirit, a thing to be *caught*, rather than taught. It shows how to make Americanization work concrete, vivid and alive.

Mr. Frank L. Dykema of Grand Rapids who is general manager of this fine enterprise of "putting the Constitution into every school and every home in the country," writes to the editor of this Magazine:

"The situation now in reference to teaching citizenship is about parallel to what it was at the time the training in health was put in the schools. The teachers then said, we are teaching health, believing that in the teaching of physiology, having to do with bones and muscles, they were giving real health training. Teachers today say they are teaching the Constitution and that they are teaching citizenship, referring always to the courses in Civil Government, which is actually the same as teaching about the bones and muscles of government, instead of the real spirit of the Constitution and the ballot."

 The book is published by the American Citizen Publishing Co., Iowa City, 3rd ed., 1921, pp. 228, \$1.00.

THE STORY OF MANKIND, by Hendrik Van Loon, Ph. D., Professor of the Social Sciences in Antioch College, author of *The Golden Book of the Dutch Navigators*, *A Short Story of Discovery*, *Ancient Man*, and histories of Holland.

As a means of helping to make historical reading easy for young and old, *The Story of Mankind* has hardly a rival. Mr. Wells helped considerably with his *Outline of History*, Dr. Van Loon's book covers much the same field in much simpler terms. Mr. Wells came as a teacher and prophet with strong personal bias, anxious to drive home certain views of his own—Dr. Van Loon is a story teller. He himself says:

"The origin of 'The Story of Mankind' is a very simple one. I suffered as a child from the exceedingly bad method of history teaching which was used in my native land. When I crossed the ocean, I discovered that my own children in the schools of my adopted country were taught a sort of history which made them the sincere and devoted enemies of history for life.

"At the same time the political development of the world during the last six years, and the entrance of America upon the scene of international politics as the most important actor, destined to 'play the lead' for the next five hundred years, convinced me that a proper and reasonable understanding of historical cause and effect was the most important factor in the lives of the rising generation.

"And so my book does not divide history into several unconnected watertight compartments; it treats the entire history of the human race as a single unit, and shows us and our children that we are but links in an endless and fascinating chain of human development. It begins in the dim and hardly understood realm of the earliest past; it can be continued forever."

Entertaining, often humorous and whimsical, the work is yet accurate history and splendidly informative.

It is the best survey of universal history we know of to put into the hands of children.

The author was not unmindful of Alice's query, "What is the use of a book without pictures?" And so he made for the book a series of illustrations, not works of art, but better suited to a child's imagination than many an artistic triumph. There are over 140 black and white line cuts, eight four-colored pages, numerous animated maps and full page half-tones (Boni and Liveright, New York City, pp. xxx-483, \$5.00).

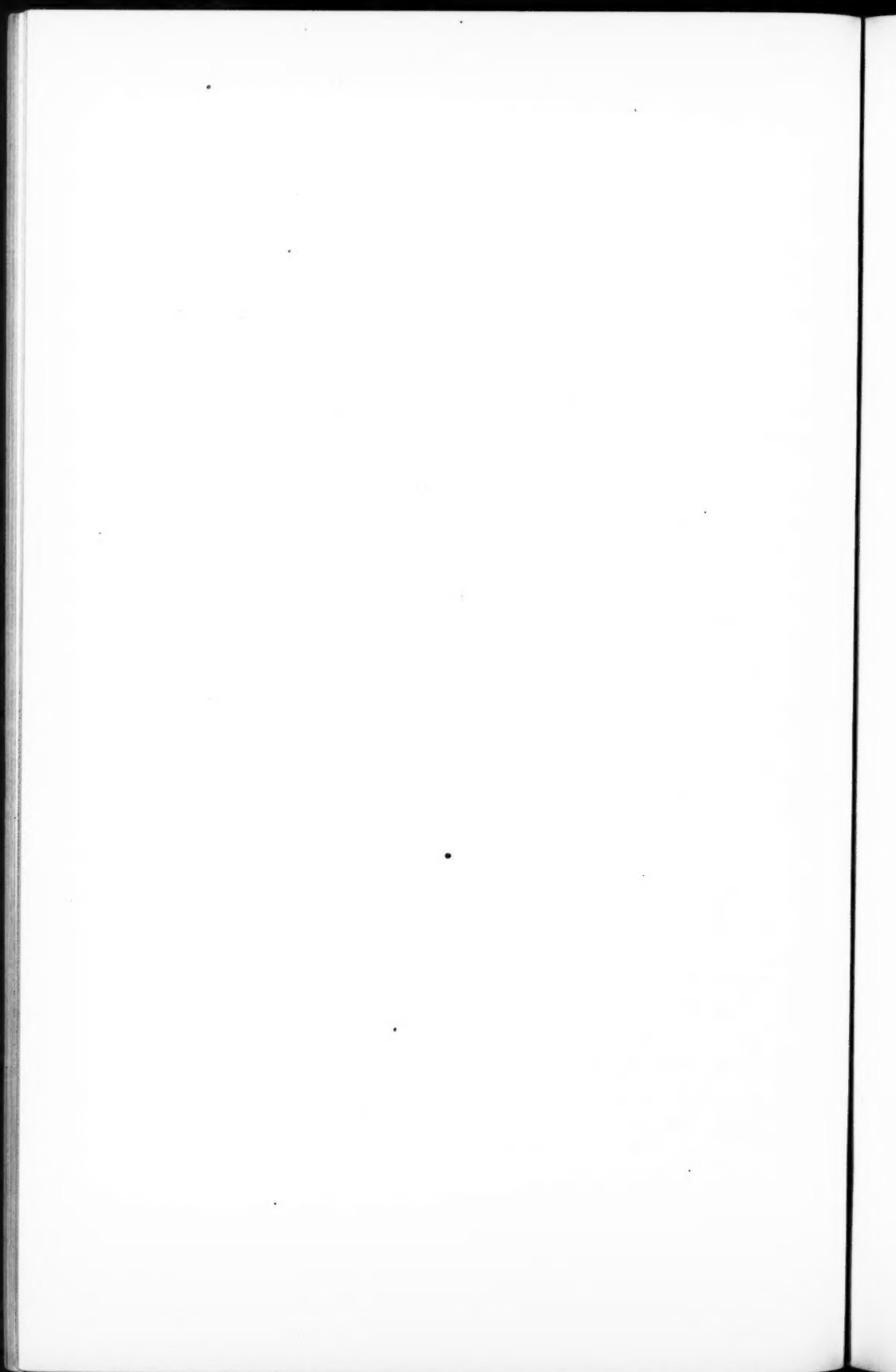
THE ROAD TO THE WORLD, by Webb Waldron, U. of M. '05 is refreshingly real, so real indeed that one feels it must be in large measure autobiographical. It is a story of intense fascination. Deep down in each of us is the realization that its hero, Stan Hilgert, is making the struggle that we too have made in finding our "road to the world."

Stan is a Michigan boy who first sees the light in a little town somewhere in the vicinity of "The Thumb." The story carries him through all the experiences of boyhood and young manhood,—his instinctive craving to write, the handicaps of poverty, the escapades of school days, his discovery of "the girl," his plunge for college, his disgust with the trammels of conventional thinking, and his student days at the University of Michigan, where he meets "Karen," the star that is to change the course of his life.

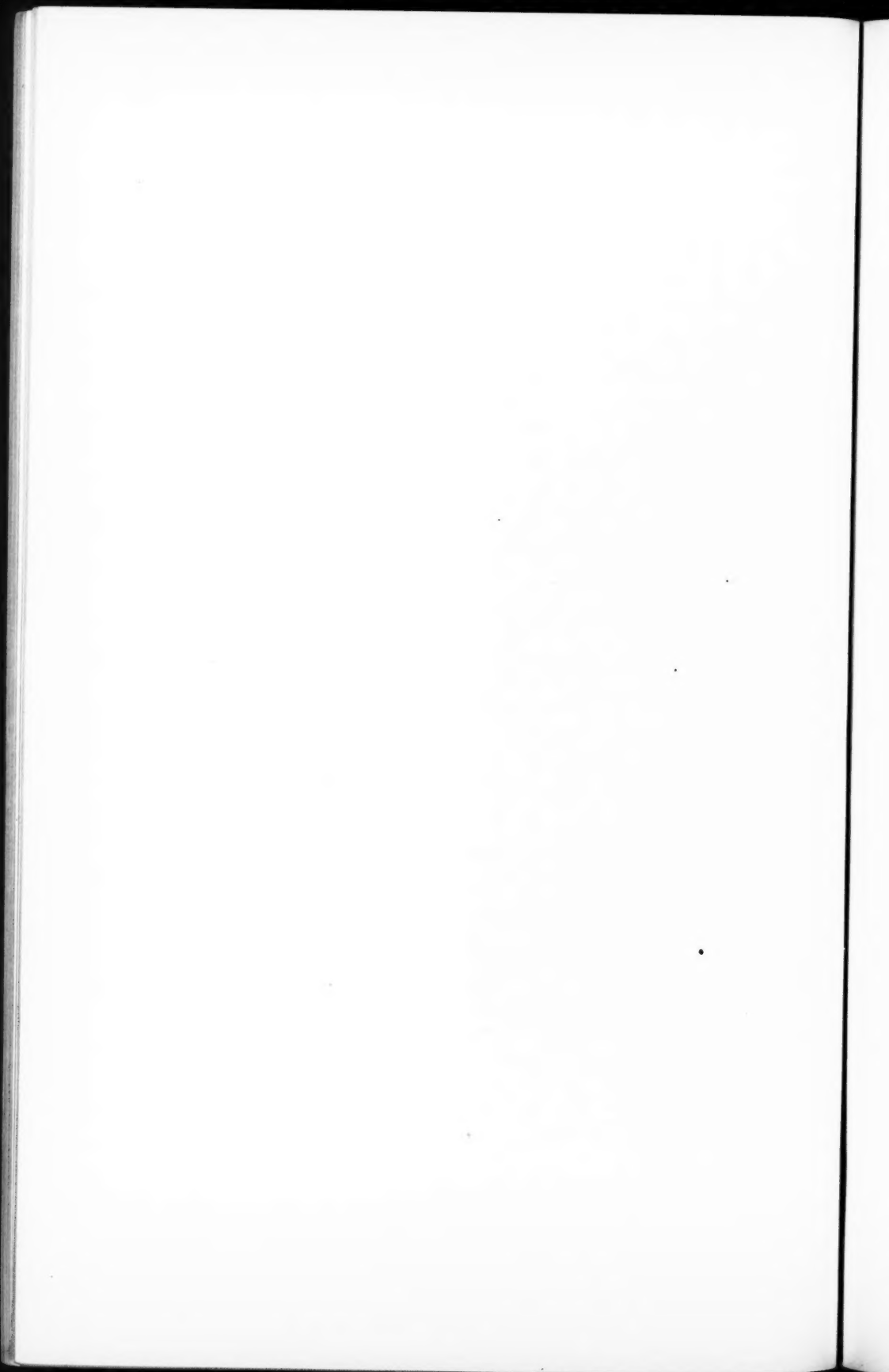
The brave and beautiful story that follows, of two lives each true to itself, seizes upon one with subtle interest. It is not the ordinary "love story," for the story is a tragedy from that point of view. At many

points we venture a guess at how it will end, and when it does end, quite differently, we have a sense that it could not have ended otherwise and been true to life. To conceal the outcome of a 400 page story until within two pages of the end and have it true to life is an achievement. And it is in this ending that many will make a self-discovery, which for them will be the value of the book.

The Road to the World will doubtless win its way with "the independent thinker." But a warning,—it is not a book for persons who are easily "shocked" (The Century Co., N. Y., pp. 416, \$1.90).



PAPERS



Columbus

THE INDIAN AS AN ORATOR

BY PROF. R. CLYDE FORD

YPSILANTI

THE American Indian, whatever else we may say of him, certainly has always been a picturesque and romantic character. From the beginning of our history he has figured more or less in almost every stride we have taken as a people. From the beginning of our history—he *himself is largely the beginning of our history*—from the time the ships of Columbus made a landfall on this side of the ocean till within recent times our story as a people has been interwoven in some way with that of the first rude dweller of the land.

Within the last generation, however, his memory has begun to fade. Contact with him has become less and less noticeable, and as he has sunk from sight he has dropped from our recollection and attention. He is no longer in evidence, and out of sight is out of mind. The actual Indian we are fast forgetting. But as a myth he still exists,—a legendary character, in unreal and distorted proportions. The good in him we have interred with his bones, the evil that he did lives after him. In our histories and literature he is mostly the bad Indian, the cruel, revengeful, treacherous redskin who harried our frontiers in early days, lusting for scalps and plunder, and always ready to drown in fire water whatever human qualities he may have possessed. How many of our old-time novels are punctuated by his blood curdling war-whoops and inhuman butcheries!

But our children, with a sure and certain instinct, have dealt more fairly than their elders with the Indian. They have glimpsed him as a picturesque creature of forest and plain, and have conjured him over into their dreams. To them the word "Indian" is magic, a potent charm that calls up wigwams and bark canoes, red children and wild things of the forest, a wonderful, entrancing world. Undoubtedly that conception of the Indian is a better one than the other.

But to come now to the subject of our paper,—The Indian as an Orator. We know of a surety that he was many things; he was a brave defender, a daring, indefatigable warrior, a clever hunter, a keen observer, he was dignified and serious in manner, honest in his dealings with his fellow men, loyal and devoted in his friendships, persistent in his hatreds. He was also a person of dreams, for he built up stories around the flowers, the wild creatures that lived in the forest with him, the forces of nature that prevailed about him, the come and go of the seasons. But with all his lore, his vices and his virtues,—was he an orator? Could he feel and understand human motives, and interpret them in a way to arouse men to action? Was he able with the magic gift of eloquence to sway the hearts of his fellows and bend them to his will? All this is certainly a question worth while.

The Indian's education was limited, yet in a way it was a regular and systematic education. Kah-ke-wa-quo-naby, known in English as the Rev. Peter Jones, wrote a history of the Chippewas and throws some light on this subject. And Dr. Charles A. Eastman in his book *An Indian Boyhood* describes at length the way he was reared among the Sioux. The

Indian youth was taught to be a good hunter, skilled in all the lore of the wilderness. A little later he was instructed in the art of war, and his parents and the wise old men of the village recounted to him the wonderful exploits of the braves of other days in order to fire his imagination. Finally, he was initiated into the mysteries of religion, the fasts, feasts, offerings, religious songs and dances, and the rites of the secret orders. This made of him a brave, an individual that did not differ any from all the other fighting men of the tribe.

However, some particular Indian youth might rise to eminence, and become a man of distinction, and enter the councils of his tribe. Here his education widened, and the gifts of oratory became a requirement. When once he could state his views convincingly and eloquently he rose at once to a position of influence. The government of a tribe was vested in a council, made up of chiefs of various bands or of elders of the tribe, and all questions touching the general welfare were debated at great length. Decisions were generally arrived at only by unanimous consent, and of a necessity the deliberations were long and animated. To be fitted to take part in such assemblies was the ambition of every warrior. And such distinction was recognized, and the powerful speaker was looked up to and listened to with admiration and respect. The Indian's language had qualities in it which adapted it particularly to oratory and appeal. It was evolved in contact with nature and possessed much rugged power and beauty; it abounded in imagination and symbolism and poetical speech, and when he had a great cause to plead, he frequently responded

to the occasion with subtle skill and ingenuity, and even with eloquence and passion.

Pontiac's first address to the assembled chieftains in the famous council at Ecorse, April 27, 1763, fully illustrates this point. Let us review briefly the circumstances. Pontiac with rude statesmanship had worked out the plans for his uprising in the winter of 1762-3; with something like genius he had been able to kindle enthusiasm and loyalty in remote Indian tribes from Lake Superior to the south, and from the Mississippi to the Alleghenies and beyond. And now that his preparations were complete there remained but to touch a match to the tinder. And this match was to be his address in council. Undoubtedly he had thought long about it. He knew well what responsibility hung upon his words, what far reaching consequences would devolve upon the impression he would make. The white man's yoke was getting heavier upon the Indian's neck with each succeeding year; his hunting grounds to the east had been taken from him; and now the wilderness of the Great Lakes had passed to the control of a flag which boded ill for the red man. Realization of this filled his soul with bitterness and fury.

We do not know all that happened in his preliminary council, but the so-called Pontiac MS. hints at much and tells more. Pontiac evidently began by recounting the wrongs of his people, and when his eloquence had caught the ears of his listeners he related how a certain Indian of the Wolf or Delaware tribe had received a communication in person from the Great Spirit, the Master of Life. With much skill and fine language he described how the Indian jour-

neyed across dale and forest till he came at last to a precipitous mountain which barred his progress. Here a radiant vision of loveliness met him and told him if he wished to go further he must cast away any impeding thing,—gun, food, clothing; that he must wash away his sins in a limpid stream near by, and then go into the presence of the Great Spirit. All this he does and he comes finally to a large plain with three large villages in it, where he is ushered into the presence of the Great Spirit who thus addresses him:

“I am the Master of Life and since I know what you desire to know and to whom you wish to speak, listen well to what I am going to say to you and all the Indians.

“I am He who has created the heavens and the earth, the trees, lakes, rivers, all men, and all you see and have seen upon the earth. Because I love you you must do what I say and love, and not do what I hate.....

“This land where you dwell I have made for you and not for others. Whence comes it then that you permit the white man upon your lands? Can you not live without him? I know that those whom you call the children of the Great Father supply your needs, but if you were not evil, as you are, you could surely do without them. You could live as you did live before you knew them, before those whom you call your brothers had come upon your lands. Did you not live by the bow and arrow? You had no need of gun or powder, or anything else, and nevertheless you caught animals to live upon and to dress yourselves with their skins. But when I saw that you were given up to evil I led the wild animals to the depths of the forest so that you had to depend upon your

brothers to feed and shelter you. You have only to become good again and do what I wish and I will send back the animals for your food. I do not forbid you to permit among you the children of your Father; I love them. They know me and pray to me, and I supply their wants and all they give you. But as to them who come to trouble your lands,—those dogs dressed in red, drive them out—make war upon them. I do not love them; they know me not, and are my enemies, and the enemies of your brothers. Send them back to the lands which I have created for them and let them stay there.”....

In this adroit way Pontiac fired the minds of his hearers with a message from Heaven. And the Indian's religious feelings were easily played upon—we know this from the influence exercised by Tecumseh's brother, Elks-wa-to-wa, the prophet, and by the Messiah craze among the Sioux Indians within our own recollections.

Once more we behold Pontiac as a pleader of his cause—this time in a council which was held with the French settlers near Detroit, May 23, 1763, when they protested against the lawlessness and depredation of his warriors.

“My brothers, we have never intended to do you any injury or harm, neither have we pretended that any should be done to you, but among my young men there are some, as among you, who are always doing harm in spite of all precautions that one can take. Moreover, it is not for personal vengeance merely that I am making war upon the English; it is for you, my brothers, as well as for us. When the English have insulted us in the councils which we have held with

them, they have insulted you, too, without your knowing it. And since I and all my brothers, also, know that the English have taken away from you all means to avenge yourself by disarming you and making you sign a paper which they have sent to their own country,—a thing they could not do to us,—for this reason we wish to avenge you equally with ourselves, and I swear the destruction of all that may be upon our lands.

“What is more, you do not know all the reasons which oblige me to act as I do. I have told you only what concerns you, but you will know the rest in time. I know very well that many of you, my brothers, consider me a fool, but you will see in the future if I am what people say I am, and if I am wrong. I know very well, also, that there are some among you, my brothers, who side with the English in making war upon us and that grieves me. As for them, I know them well, and when our Great Father returns I shall name and point them out to him and they will see whether they or we will be most satisfied with the result in the end.

“I do not doubt, my brothers, that this war causes you annoyance because of the movements of our brothers who are coming and going in your homes constantly; I am chagrined at it, but do not think, my brothers, that I inspire the harm which is being done you. As a proof that I do not desire it just call to mind the war with the Foxes, and the way I behaved as regards you seventeen years ago. When the Chippewas and Ottawas of Michillimackinac, and all the northern nations, came with the Sacs and Foxes to destroy you, who was it that defended you? Was it not I and my men?

"When Mackinaw, the great chief of all these nations, said in his council that he would carry the head of your commander to his village, and devour his heart, and drink his blood, did I not take up your cause, and go to his village, and tell him that if he wanted to kill the French he would have to begin first with me and my men? Did I not help you to rid yourselves of them and drive them away? How does it come then, my brothers, that you would think me today ready to turn my weapons against you? No, my brothers, I am the same French Pontiac who helped you seventeen years ago; I am French, and I want to die French, and I repeat that it is altogether your interest and mine that I avenge. Let me carry out my plan. I do not demand your assistance, because I know you could not give it; I only ask you for provisions for myself and all my followers. If, however, you should like to help me I would not refuse; you would please me and get out of trouble quicker, for I promise when the English shall be driven away from here, or killed, we shall all withdraw into our villages, following our custom, to await the coming of our French Father."

This speech, copied from the Pontiac MS., was undoubtedly heard by the one who entered it in the journal, and aside from the comment that Pontiac listened intently to the reproaches of the French we have no hint as to his feelings or the way he voiced them. But we can understand, as somebody has said, that a warrior who could speak with such compelling force had no need of the petty tricks of elocution and of oratory.

Before taking leave of Pontiac let us follow him to the great council of Ottawas, Chippewas and Pot-

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tawatomes held near Detroit, August 27-28, 1765, and hear him as he makes his submission to Colonel Croghan and the British government. In behalf of the several nations present he spoke as follows:

"Father, we have all smoked out of this pipe of peace. It is your children's pipe; and as the war is all over, and the Great Spirit and Giver of Light, who has made the earth and everything therein, has brought us all together this day for mutual good, I declare to all nations that I have settled my peace with you before I came here, and now deliver my pipe to be sent to Sir William Johnson, that he may know I have made peace, and taken the King of England for my father, in presence of all the nations now assembled; and whenever any of those nations go to visit him, they may smoke out of it with him in peace. Fathers, we are obliged to you for lighting up our old council-fire for us, and desiring us to return to it; but we are now settled on the Miami River, not far from hence: whenever you want us, you will find us there."

The next year he appeared before Sir William Johnson in the State of New York and spoke in a similar strain. Surely there is something pathetic and at the same time grand and heroic in the spectacle of this surrender of a leader of a lost cause.

But of all the Indian speeches that have found publicity, probably none has enjoyed the celebrity which fell to the words of Logan, the chief of the Min-goës, in his message to Lord Dunmore. In Europe and America this speech has often been cited and quoted as a masterpiece of rhetoric. The older ones here present today will remember it out of their school readers. Logan, by birth an Iroquois, of the Cayuga tribe, because of his character and reputation was

Pauline C. C. C.

Indian
elected chief of the Mingoes in eastern Ohio about the year 1770. In 1774 almost the whole of his family was murdered in cold blood by the whites. This aroused him to such fury that he incited the Indians to rebellion and drenched the Ohio border in blood, taking as many as thirty scalps with his own hands. The so-called Dunmore War was the result of this uprising, and, here again, as always, the Indians were overpowered by superior numbers and reduced to submission. When finally Lord Dunmore at the head of his punitive expedition reached the neighborhood of the Indian tribes on the Sciota he was met by a messenger with a flag of truce who requested on the part of the Indians an interpreter through whom they could sue for peace. Chief Logan refused to attend the council and Dunmore sent a man named Gibson, who is supposed to have married Logan's sister, to learn the cause of his absence. When Gibson arrived at his village the chief met him and requested him to go with him into the woods near by. Here they sat down and Logan, overcome with tears, narrated his pathetic story. This is the message which Gibson brought back to Lord Dunmore, written out in English, for and in the name of the chief:

"I appeal to any white man to say if ever he entered Logan's cabin hungry, and he gave him not meat; if ever he came cold and naked, and he clothed him not. During the course of the last long and bloody war Logan remained idle in his cabin, an advocate for peace. Such was my love for the whites that my countrymen pointed at me as they passed, and said: 'Logan is the friend of white men.'

"I had even thought to have lived with you, but for the injuries of one man. Colonel Cresap, last

spring, in cold blood and unprovoked, murdered all relations of Logan, not sparing even my women and children. There runs not a drop of my blood in the veins of any living creature.

"This called on me for revenge. I have sought it. I have killed many. I have glutted my vengeance. For my country, I rejoice at the beams of peace. But do not think that mine is the joy of fear. Logan never felt fear. Logan will not turn on his heel to save his life. Who is there to mourn for Logan? Not one!"

The authenticity of this speech has been much discussed by various writers, but comparing all sources and copies there seems hardly any doubt that it is practically Logan's own words. We have followed the version in Jefferson's notes, published in February, 1775, only a few months after the council, and based directly on conversations with Lord Dunmore.

The sad fate of Logan is quite in accord with the unhappy end of almost all our great Indian warriors from the beginning of our history. The white man's treachery or fire water was their undoing. After the downfall of his people Logan wandered about from tribe to tribe, broken hearted and dejected, most of the time seeking forgetfulness in drink. He was murdered somewhere near Detroit by a savage companion, as he sat bowed in moody reflection by a camp-fire, his elbows on his knees, his head resting on his hands. So perished Logan, worthy of a better fate.

I have referred to the fact that Logan was an Iroquois. The Iroquois race has produced a number of famous orators and leaders, among whom looms to eminence also Sa-go-ye-wat-ha, or Red Jacket, a chief of the Senecas. He fought on the side of the English during our Revolution, but sided with the United

States in the War of 1812 and materially assisted our forces by the valuable information he gave concerning the plans of Tecumseh. He, too, fell a victim to drink, and at one time was deposed by a council of chiefs. Later he was restored to office. At first he was in favor of education for his people, but later became a pronounced opponent of schools and Christianity. In the year 1806, Mr. Crane, a missionary, appeared at a council of chiefs of the Six Nations and spoke of the work he proposed to do among them. At the conclusion of his address Red Jacket made a rejoinder which has gone far to establish the claim that he was the most eloquent of all the Indian orators.

"Friend and Brother:—It was the will of the Great Spirit that we should meet together this day. He orders all things and has given us a fine day for our council. He has taken His garment from before the sun and caused it to shine with brightness upon us. Our eyes are opened that we see clearly; our ears are unstopped that we have been able to hear distinctly the words you have spoken. For all these favors we thank the Great Spirit, and Him only.

"Brother, this council fire was kindled by you. It was at your request that we came together at this time. We have listened with attention to what you have said. You requested us to speak our minds freely. This gives us great joy; for we now consider that we stand upright before you and can speak what we think. All have heard your voice and all speak to you now as one man. Our minds are agreed.

"Brother, you say you want an answer to your talk before you leave this place. It is right you should have one, as you are a great distance from home and we do not wish to detain you. But first we will look

back a little and tell you what our fathers have told us and what we have heard from white people.

"Brother, listen to what we say. There was a time when our forefathers owned this great island. Their seats extended from the rising to the setting sun. The Great Spirit had made it for the use of the Indians. He had created the buffalo, the deer, and other animals for food. He had made the bear and the beaver. Their skins served us for clothing. He had scattered them over the country and taught us how to take them. He had caused the earth to produce corn for bread. All this He had done for His red children because He loved them. If we had some disputes about our hunting-ground they were generally settled without the shedding of much blood.

"But an evil day came upon us. Your forefathers crossed the great water and landed on this island. Their numbers were small. They found friends and not enemies. They told us they had fled from their own country for fear of wicked men and had come to enjoy their religion. They asked for a small seat. We took pity on them, granted their request, and they sat down among us. We gave them corn and meat; they gave us poison in return.

"The white people, brother, had now found our country. Tidings were carried back and more came among us. Yet we did not fear them. We took them to be friends. They called us brothers. We believed them and gave them a larger seat. At length their numbers had greatly increased. They wanted more land; they wanted our country. Our eyes were opened and our minds became uneasy. War took place. Indians were hired to fight against Indians, and many

of our people were destroyed. They also brought strong liquor among us. It was strong and powerful, and has slain thousands.

"Brother, our seats were once large and yours were small. You have now become a great people, and we have scarcely a place left to spread our blankets. You have got our country, but are not satisfied; you want to force your religion upon us.

"Brother, continue to listen. You say that you are sent to instruct us how to worship the Great Spirit agreeably to His mind; and, if we do not take hold of the religion which you white people teach we shall be unhappy hereafter. You say that you are right and we are lost. How do we know this to be true? We understood that your religion is written in a Book. If it was intended for us, as well as you, why has not the Great Spirit given to us, and not only to us, but why did He not give to our forefathers the knowledge of that Book, with the means of understanding it rightly. We only know what you tell us about it. How shall we know when to believe, being so often deceived by the white people?

"Brother, you say there is but one way to worship and serve the Great Spirit. If there is but one religion, why do you white people differ so much about it? Why are not all agreed, as you can all read the Book?

"Brother, we do not understand these things. We are told that your religion was given to your forefathers and has been handed down from father to son. We also have a religion which was given to our forefathers and has been handed down to us, their children. We worship in that way. It teaches us to be thankful for all the favors we receive, to love each other, and to be united. We never quarrel about religion.

"Brother, the Great Spirit has made us all, but He has made a great difference between His white and His red children. He has given us different complexions and different customs. To you He has given the arts. To these He has not opened our eyes. We know these things to be true. Since He has made so great a difference between us in other things, why may we not conclude that He has given us a different religion according to our understanding? The Great Spirit does right. He knows what is best for His children; we are satisfied.

"Brother, we do not wish to destroy your religion or take it from you. We only want to enjoy our own.

"Brother, you say you have not come to get our land or our money, but to enlighten our minds. I will now tell you that I have been at your meetings and saw you collect money from the meeting. I can not tell what this money was intended for, but suppose that it was for your minister; and, if we should conform to your way of thinking, perhaps you may want some from us.

"Brother, we are told that you have been preaching to the white people in this place. These people are our neighbors. We are acquainted with them. We will wait a little while and see what effect your preaching has upon them. If we find it does them good, makes them honest, and less disposed to cheat Indians, we will then consider again of what you have said.

"Brother, you have now heard our answer to your talk, and this is all we have to say at present. As we are going to part, we will come and take you by the hand, and hope the Great Spirit will protect you on your journey and return you safe to your friends."

The Indian has been called cold, impassive, inscrutable and without feeling, but intimate accounts go to show that when he was aroused by some great question he threw off his reserve and granite demeanor and spoke in words which pulsed with an agony of feeling. Caleb Atwater, who was present at many councils, remarked this. As soon as the orator took up some such subject as cession of the tribal lands, or removal of his people from the home of their ancestors, he became surcharged with the awful responsibility which rested upon him. In breathless silence, the audience hung upon his words; they wept with him; they exulted as he exulted; they followed him in his grief and despair. He had suddenly become in his own expressive phrase, a human being, a MAN, and like one in whose veins flowed the blood of free-born men he pleaded his cause.

In a council held at Prairie du Chien, July 1, 1829, to negotiate a cession of Indian lands, Hoo-wa-ne-ka, or Little Elk, made the following speech:

"The first white man we ever knew was a Frenchman. He lived among us as we did. He painted himself, smoked his pipe with us, sang and danced with us, and married one of our squaws, *but he never wanted to buy our land.*

"The Red Coat came next. He gave us new coats, leggins and shoes, guns, traps and knives, blankets and jewels. He seated our chiefs at his table to eat with him; he fixed epaulets on their shoulders and put commissions in their pockets. He suspended large medals on their breasts, *but he never asked us to sell our country to him.*

"Next came the Blue Coat—the American. No sooner had he seen a portion of our country, *than he*

asked for a map of the whole of it. Having seen the map he wanted to buy it all. Governor Cass last year at Green Bay urged us to sell all our country to him, and now you, father, make the same request. Why do you want to add our small country to yours which is already so large?

"When I went to Washington City to see our Great Father, I saw great houses all along the road, and Washington and Baltimore, Philadelphia and New York are great and splendid cities! So large and beautiful was the President's house; the tables and chairs, the mirrors and carpets were so beautiful that I thought I was in Heaven, and that the old man there was the Great Spirit! But after he had taken us by the hand and kissed our women I found him like ourselves, nothing but a man!

"You ask us to sell our country and wander off into the boundless regions of the West. We do not own that country, and the deer, elk, bison and beaver there are not ours, and we have no right to kill them. Our wives and our children, now seated behind us, are dear to us, and so is our country where rest in peace the bones of our ancestors. (Here he spoke with great emotion) Fathers, pity a people few in number, poor and helpless! Do you want our country? Yours is larger than ours! Do you want our wigwams? You live in palaces! Do you want our horses? Yours are larger, stronger, and better than ours.

"Do you want our women? (And now pointing to the wives of the American officers present, and to the wife and daughters of the agent of the American Fur Company, he said:) Yours are now sitting behind you, and they are handsomer and better dressed than

ours. Once more I ask, my fathers, what can be your motives? Why do you want to rob us of our land?" (Taken from a so-called Historical Document in Magazine of American History for the year 1880.)

But as eloquent as was the speech of Little Elk, it was surpassed by Black Hawk in an address which he made to his people in the spring of 1831 upon notification by the United States agent that he was ordered to remove with his tribe to lands west of the Mississippi. It is as follows:

"Warriors:—Sixty summers or more have gone since our fathers sat down here, and our mothers erected their lodges on this spot. On these pastures our horses have fattened; our wives and daughters have cultivated the corn-fields, and planted beans and melons and squashes; from these rivers our young men have obtained an abundance of fish. Here, too, you have been protected from your old enemy, the Sioux, by the mighty Mississippi. And here are the bones of our warriors and chiefs and orators.

"But alas! what do I hear? The birds that have long gladdened these groves with their melody now sing a melancholy song! They say, 'The red man must leave his home, to make room for the white man.' The Long Knives want it for their speculation and greed. They want to live in our houses, plant corn in our fields, and plough up our graves! They want to fatten their hogs on our dead, not yet mouldered in their graves! We are ordered to remove to the west bank of the Mississippi; there to erect our houses, and open new fields, of which we shall soon be robbed again by these pale-faces! They tell us that our great father, the chief of the Long Knives, has commanded us, his red children, to give this, our greatest

town, our greatest graveyard, and our best home, to his white children! I do not believe it. It cannot be true; it is impossible that so great a Chief should compel us to seek new homes, and prepare new corn-fields, and that, too, in a country where our women and children will be in danger of being murdered by our enemies. No! No! Our great father, the chief of the Long Knives, will never do this. I have heard these silly tales for seven winters, that we were to be driven from our homes. You know we offered the Long Knives a large tract of country abounding with lead on the west side of the Mississippi, if they would relinquish their claim to this little spot. We will, therefore, repair our houses which the pale-faced vagabonds have torn down and burnt, and we will plant our corn; and if these white intruders annoy us, we will tell them to depart. We will offer them no violence, except in self-defense. We will not kill their cattle, or destroy any of their property, but their *scutah wapo* (whiskey) we will search for, and destroy, throwing it out upon the earth, wherever we find it. We have asked permission of the intruders to cultivate our own fields, around which they have erected wooden walls. They refuse, and forbid us the privilege of climbing over. We will throw down these walls, and, as these pale-faces seem unwilling to live in the community with us, let them, and not us, depart. The land is ours, not theirs. We inherited it from our fathers; we have never sold it. If some drunken dogs of our people sold lands they did not own, our rights remain. We have no chiefs who are authorized to sell our corn-fields, our houses, or the bones of our dead. The great Chief of the Long Knives, I believe, is too wise and good to approve acts of robbery and

injustice, though I have found true the statement of my British friends in Canada, that 'The Long Knives will always claim the land where they are permitted to make a track with their foot, or mark a tree.' I will not, however, believe that the great Chief, who is pleased to call himself our 'Father' will send his warriors against his children for no other cause than contending to cultivate their own fields, and occupy their own houses. No! I will not believe it, until I see his army. Not until then will I forsake the graves of my ancestors, and the home of my youth!" (From Galland's *Iowa Emigrant*, 1840.)

But alas, the army came, and with it the hour Black Hawk had so long foreboded. General Gaines and Gov. Reynolds of Illinois called a council and demanded once more that Black Hawk remove to the other side of the Mississippi.

"Your father asks you to be seated," said the interpreter to him.

"My father!" he answered haughtily, repeating the words of Tecumseh to General Harrison twenty years before;

"The sun is my father; the earth is my mother; I will rest upon her bosom!"

At last, however, Black Hawk sullenly took his seat with the fifty assembled chiefs and warriors. The treaty was read, sentence by sentence and interpreted by Antoine LeClaire. Then Black Hawk was called upon to sign. He arose slowly and with dignity, yet grief and humiliation were visible in his handsome face, but he took the pen, made a bold cross upon the paper and resumed his seat amid a breathless silence. Thus ended the impressive scene. (Geo. A. McCall in *Letters from the Frontier*.)

The Indian was the first American and we Americans of yesterday, a stronger and more cultured race, have crushed and displaced him; his glory has departed and he lives now only by our sufferance and bounty.

But though we took away his land and his native freedom we were never able entirely to rob him of his racial pride. He lived as an upstanding man, with certain noble traits among his vices and we must credit him for what he was.

We have not been able to assimilate him; we have not been able to change him; we have been able only to blight and supplant him. His mind was not like ours; his traditions were only the inheritance of a free people of the forest and the plain. He turned his face to the dawn and communed with the Great Spirit; he stood in solitude in some lofty height and studied the sunset and thought of the rewards of the Happy Hunting Grounds.

Alas, he was a simple son of the wilderness and knew the white man only to hate him and despise him. He and his people have succumbed before us and our march of empire. The ignominy of his plight oppressed him and he poured out his abhorrence of it upon us, his conquerors. Therein lies the genius of his oratory,—it was one long cry of protest and revolt against the fate which weighed down upon him. Truly, it was too bad about him.

EARLY DAYS IN THE UPPER PENINSULA

BY DR. T. A. FELCH

ISHPEMING

IT is now a matter of common knowledge that the portion of our State which lies above the Straits of Mackinac embraces a large, rich and important section of country. Although probably a good deal better known to the early explorers than the Lower Peninsula, it still is not thickly populated and the diversified interests which obtain in the Lower Peninsula find scant lodgement with us. That is necessarily so from the climatic, commercial and other conditions prevailing. Nevertheless, we are a rich and important section of the State and are becoming more and more appreciated by the people of the Lower Peninsula.

Probably at the time Michigan acquired this Upper Peninsula the great majority of the people of the State considered that what they had gained in no way compensated in value for what they thought they had lost. Neither could they be blamed for having reached that conclusion, for at that time this region was almost unknown; it was a region of wild Indians and wilder white adventurers; a region of mystery and one undesirable for a civilized community. And so after that Opera Bouffe affair, the so-called "Toledo War," they accepted the suggestion of Congress and unwillingly hitched us on to their star.

In this connection I might mention an incident which I heard from my father, who was in a position to know all about it. Congress referred the matter in dispute to a committee, who discussed the matter

at some length without coming to a conclusion. One day, as they were about to adjourn for lunch and were walking toward the exit, they brought up standing before a map of this region hanging on the wall. One member regarded it attentively for a few moments, then pointing with his cane to the Menominee River, said "Gentlemen, why not give Michigan all this stretch of land north of this river," and they all fell in with the suggestion.

And thus, when Michigan found herself in unwilling possession of this Northern Peninsula, she set about finding out what kind of a gift she had received. She sent one of her most scientific men, Dr. Douglass Houghton, to find out. Here was a land of mystery suitable for romance and adventure of a peaceful and commercial kind. The Indians here then were few and not warlike and they and their descendants show their business instincts even to this day by demanding pay for lands which one in a position to know told me the Government had already paid for three different times. Although the existence of copper had been known for many years, still Dr. Houghton was really the discoverer, in that he showed it to be in quantity and of commercial importance. Soon afterward the famous Minesota Mine proved his theory. A certain History of the United States says that copper was first found in the Minesota Mine in Minnesota, which was correct, except that Minnesota never had a copper mine and moreover Minesota, the mine, is spelled with one "n," while Minnesota, the State, is spelled with two "n's." Dr. Houghton was also the discoverer of the iron ore deposits in this end of the Peninsula. In auto trips in this neighborhood tourists may see in Negaunee a monument erected to mark the spot.

Dr. Houghton had associated with him some who afterward became men of note in the State, Schoolcraft, Dr. Samuel Douglas and John Burt.

Years afterward Dr. Douglas used to show his friends a small vial of gold dust which he had gathered in this region. Urged to give the location, he refused, saying that a rush of gold hunters did a country no good. Some thirty years ago gold ore was discovered a few miles north of Ishpeming; the company organized and the mine was worked, producing something like a half million dollars worth of gold, but finally it closed because commercial conditions were not favorable. It's re-opening, however, is a future possibility.

While silver mining as such is not now one of our industries, still an immense amount of silver is produced in connection with copper mining.

If you wish to know something of the romance of mining in Michigan, read the story of Silver Islet, a story stranger than fiction. Those things were done by the practical miner. Now we lead through the Michigan College of Mines and the mines themselves in developing an army of highly educated young men, who carry their civilization and technical knowledge to all parts of the earth.

Mr. John Burt, mentioned before as associated with Dr. Houghton, was a most remarkable man. He was the inventor of the solar compass, an instrument which has been of untold usefulness, not only to our country, but to the world. He did not take out letters patent on this invention and consequently neither he nor his heirs were ever able to get recognition from Congress, though a bill to that effect was before Congress for many years. Mr. Burt also invented a sewing

machine and also a typewriter, many years before those things were commercially known. And these also were of no financial benefit to him.

Regarding the men who pursued the practice of medicine in those days, we must regard them as truly pioneers as the woodsman or the miner. Energetic, resourceful men they were, well educated, independent. I may mention that Dr. Cornelius R. Agnew once practiced in the Copper Country, but owing to a disagreement with his superior he walked out of the country and afterward became one of America's foremost oculists and the moving spirit in the Sanitary Commission during the Civil War, an organization somewhat similar to our present Red Cross. Then there was Dr. Joseph O'Dwyer, who as a young man clerked in a store in this city and who afterward became a professor in a New York college and invented and perfected the operation of intubation used in certain conditions sometimes found during the course of diphtheria and other diseases. Dr. Wm. Beaumont's experiments on the wounded Alexis St. Martin at Mackinac Island placed the knowledge of the physiology of digestion on a scientific basis which is acknowledged today. You may see within the Fort at the Island the monument which was erected by the joint efforts of the Upper Peninsula and the Michigan State Medical Societies.

If you would read the little book called *The Honorable Peter White* you would get a good idea of the social and business conditions of the early times, an autobiography of one of the truly great men of Michigan.

THE MICHIGAN CLUB

BY HENRY A. HAIGH

(First Secretary (1884) and later President (1898) of the Organization)

DETROIT

SUFFICIENT time has probably now transpired to justify the relating of a brief account of the "Old Michigan Club," the famous Republican organization that exerted such marked influence in this State during the eighties and nineties of the last century.

Probably no other organization ever really cut a greater figure in the politics of Michigan, and no other organization—I venture to say—is remembered with a kindlier and more tolerant regard.

The Michigan Club had its origin in the necessity for recuperation and readjustment which confronted the Republican party at the close of the disastrous campaign of 1884.

The fatal tragedy of '84, when Blaine, the "Plumed Knight" of Republicanism, and "Black Jack,"—John A. Logan, the most popular and inspiring military hero then living, went down to ignominious defeat before the victorious hordes of democracy, brought Republicans everywhere to a realizing sense of what had happened to their beloved party and what had been happening to the G. O. P. during the previous eight years.

In national politics, it dawned depressingly on "stalwarts," "liberals" and all elements of the party that, beginning with the near disaster of 1876, which was only doubtfully terminated by the narrow outcome of the uncomfortable Hayes-Tilden controversy,

the grasp of power of the "patriotic" party that had "saved the Union" had really been none too secure; and in State politics, staunch old republicans who had boasted the birth of their party "Under the Oaks at Jackson" and had pointed with pride to their brilliant line of State executives—Blair, Crapo, Baldwin, Bagley, Croswell and Jerome—had been forced to endure imagined humiliation under the Democratic administration of Josiah W. Begole.

A determined effort had been made to make the republican campaign of 1884 a success. The two most beloved and popular men in the party—James G. Blaine and "Black Jack" Logan—were selected to head the national ticket. The State ticket was headed by a new and brilliant figure in Michigan republicanism—General Russell A. Alger; while as candidate for congressman from the first district of Michigan, Col. John Atkinson, then at the zenith of his fame, popularity and oratorical power, had been selected.

A vigorous campaign was valiantly fought; all differences were put aside in a common effort to elect the entire ticket, and recover the prestige and power which "the preservers of the country" felt they deserved. All the old-time weapons of political warfare were brandished to the full. We had wonderful meetings—noon-times, afternoons and evenings,—with bands, songs, processions, banners and speeches galore. We had orators, the like of whom we never since have heard, who labored with a zeal that brought some of them to grief. I remember that even Bob. Frazier, a leviathan of word-power, had a dismal crack come into his voice, but still he kept on talking!

Well, it all came to naught. We were defeated ignominiously in the National and in the local con-

gressional campaigns, and in many of the so-called safe Republican states. One bright ray of sunshine brought some suspense of sorrow in Michigan—Alger pulled through brilliantly and entered upon a career which took him to the Cabinet and the Senate,—but the great and glorious party that had saved the Union, the party of Lincoln, Grant and Garfield, went down to defeat.

Oh, it was awful. Think of it! Those detested Democrats after a quarter of a century of deserved banishment were jumping up and down like Hottentots and yelling for the flesh pots,—with Mugwumps, Ku Klux, Copperheads and whatnots joining in the din, as the sickening sense of horror bore down upon sorrowing Republicans that at last the “rebels had captured Washington!”

Something had to be done, but what?

We were holding a final meeting of the Congressional Committee, of which I was Secretary, on the day after our defeat. Walter H. Coots was chairman. Corliss, Jim Stone, Babcock, Donovan, Levi Grandy and several other faithful actives were present, groping in the gloom over the details of winding up and disbanding the Committee.

Col. Atkinson came in rather cheerily, thanked the Committee for their devoted work, said he was glad the Committee's debts were all paid, and added that, while its term as a party organization had expired, it was no time to disband as workers for a worthy cause. “Victories are won in defeat,” the Colonel said, “and now is the time to organize for future victory.” I think some reference was made to Disraeli's “Primrose League,” which had been a means of returning

that statesman to power, and some analogies were drawn.

But it was the plea of John Atkinson about "organizing in defeat for future victory," that started the Michigan Club. Of course the conditions and the atmosphere had to be right, and the mood for it had to exist, and did exist in the situation above described; but the subtle touch and inspiring words that stirred the hearts and started a movement that ran far, far beyond the fondest hopes or wildest expectations came from the brilliant mind of the defeated candidate, John Atkinson.

After the meeting Col. Atkinson asked me to send out to all the fellows who had worked with us so faithfully and to any one else who might be interested, an informal note, requesting them to attend a conference a few nights later.

The response was generous, and perhaps twenty-five gentlemen attended the conference, which was held in our committee room in the Old Buhl Block sometime in the middle of November, 1884.

Among those who came was Mr. Brownell, who was Mr. Christian H. Buhl's agent for the Buhl and Seitz Blocks, who said that he felt sure that Mr. Buhl would gladly allow us the use of the room, rent free, for our meetings. I refer to this because at the next meeting my recollection is that Mr. Buhl himself dropped in, confirmed Mr. Brownell's offer and warmly commended the movement. This may have suggested his selection as the first president of the organization—a fact of much significance, because it at once gave the movement a standing among the substantial and conservative members of the party.

Formal organization was determined upon in December, 1884, and perfected during the following month by the adoption of Articles of Association, the election of officers and directors, and by incorporation under an appropriate act of the Legislature.

The selection of the first president of the new organization has seemed to me significant.

CHRISTIAN H. BUHL, FIRST PRESIDENT

Mr. Buhl, while never an active politician, and not taking any great part in the affairs of the Michigan Club, represented, as few others did, the substantial interests of the city of Detroit and State of Michigan.

Born in Pennsylvania, of Dutch parentage, in 1812, he came to Detroit on attaining his majority in 1833, and at once embarked in business enterprises, which were always successful, always increasing and always useful and important. Long before his selection as the first president of the Michigan Club he had become identified with some of the most important industries of the State and Nation. He had the reputation of undertaking enterprises which always came through to good success. He remarked that he was willing to be president of the new organization, provided it would be pushed to the success which its objects deserved, though he could not be expected at his age, 72, to do much active work.

JAMES McMILLAN, VICE-PRESIDENT

Not less significant was the selection of the first vice-president. Mr. McMillan was not at that time regarded in the light of the politician and statesman which he subsequently became. His reputation then was that of one of the most successful and substantial

of the younger business men of Michigan. He was not born until five years after Mr. Buhl had begun business in Detroit. But he developed rapidly and in 1864 when only 26 years old, in collaboration with the late John S. Newberry, he organized the Michigan Car Company, which was rapidly developed into one of the most important manufacturing enterprises in Michigan. Later this was consolidated with the Peninsular Car Works, and both subsequently merged with the St. Louis Car Works, which Mr. McMillan and his brother William had acquired, and all, together with other allied industries, became the American Car and Foundry Company, one of the great and good trusts of the country.

But even at that time, Mr. McMillan's many close friends recognized in him great abilities as a clever, upright and successful politician, and this resulted in his selection as chairman of the Republican State Central Committee, where presently a general recognition of his broad capacity for statesmanship led him later to his brilliant career in the United States Senate.

I have dwelt upon the attractive qualities of these two noted men because their names, leading the roster of officials of the new organization, gave it at once luster, dignity and importance, and must have cut a large figure in the wonderful and unexpected growth of the Michigan Club.

My selection as the first secretary was due solely to the fact that I was there in the harness, a handy young fellow on the spot and willing to work hard without pay.

THE FIRST BOARD OF DIRECTORS

This was by no means an insignificant body, and it turned out to be a very serviceable one. It was composed of men, all of fetching qualities, some of attained and others of promised greatness. They were James F. Joy, James L. Edson, Hazen S. Pingree, Clarence A. Black, John Atkinson, James H. Stone, James W. Fales, Digby V. Bell, Robert E. Frazer, Thomas Berry, George H. Hopkins, S. S. Babcock, S. B. Grummond, Henry M. Duffield, Dr. John H. Carstens, John B. Corliss, Walter H. Coots, Charles Wright, Frank A. Noah and Ervin Palmer.

In addition to the foregoing officers and directors, there were charter members, consisting of Russell A. Alger, Allan Sheldon, A. G. Lindsay, A. M. Henry, J. W. Donovan, Magnus Butzel, Wm. L. Carpenter, Wm. Livingston and J. K. Burnham, the acknowledgment to the Articles of Association being taken by Allan H. Frazer.

The avowed purpose of the Club was to help rehabilitate and reinstate the Republican party in power, —locally, in the State and in the Nation, though this object as stated in the Articles of Association was “the promotion of the study of political science” and “the collection and dissemination of knowledge concerning the civil and political institutions of the State and Nation.”

The attainment of this object was striven for in various ways, the most notable of which was the holding of monthly “Club Talks,” at which all sorts of questions were discussed—often with great vigor, and the giving of the famous annual banquets on Washington’s Birthday each year, the first of which was held thirty-seven years ago this year.

I recall that my first serious work, aside from the routine of my office, was the preparation of a little pamphlet called the "Michigan Club Manual," which set forth the objects of the organization, its Articles of Association, officers, directors and charter members, and such other members as had joined up to that time, among whom were many very prominent people, such as Henry P. Baldwin, Philo Parsons, S. M. Cutcheon, Frank J. Hecker, Dexter M. Ferry, John N. Bagley, Conrad Clippert, Isaac Marston, D. Bethune Duffield and others of like high standing.

This was sent out broadcast to Republicans, who were all asked to join and help the movement. There was no limitation or restriction on membership, everybody was eligible, the only condition imposed being the payment of a membership fee of \$2.00, which entitled the holder to a ticket to the annual banquet.

What it was that brought in new members, not only by hundreds—as was expected—but literally by thousands—which was not expected—was, as stated, probably the condition of the party throughout the country, and the appeal created by the array of noted names connected with the initiation of the movement.

Of course there were attractive details of effort appealing to various tastes. A Committee on Organization undertook the extension of the movement into every county, city and village of the State; a Committee on Legislation was charged with watching and reporting on and suggesting legislation in city, county, state and nation; a Committee on Taxation, then, though not so seriously as now, a troublesome question. Altogether I think there were five standing committees, some of which did considerable work.

Then we had some enthusiastic members, who were wonderfully facile in accomplishment—men who were really greater than they themselves, or the rest of us, then realized.

John Atkinson was the peer, and in many respects the leader, of all who aided in the early days of the movement, a man of consummate but somewhat suppressed ability, a deep thinker, a wonderful orator and at heart a most kindly and lovable man.

James H. Stone was I think the most versatile politician of any man in Michigan at that time. He was what might be called a professional politician, and he was an honest one, uncompromising but indefatigable. He began his political career in boyhood as a page in the Legislature and later Clerk of the House of Representatives, Secretary of the State Senate, Reading Clerk of several national conventions, member of the National Republican Committee, and an important federal official in Detroit for many years. He was simply invaluable as a director. He knew everybody in the party, and could call the names and tell the histories of more politicians—State and national—than any man I ever met. To James H. Stone perhaps more than to any other single director, was due the wonderful success of the great banquets of the Michigan Club.

S. S. Babcock was the hardest working member on the Board, was a director from first to last and never missed a meeting. Col. Duffield was to me one of the most genial and delightful members of the Board, a man of much ability and a charming gentleman. And George Hopkins was like unto him.

Col. Fred Farnsworth, who succeeded me as secretary, was the most wonderful secretary that ever was

born. Everything that he was secretary of succeeded. He had system that was marvelous, intricate perhaps, but infallible. It always worked out right. He became in great demand as secretary for all sorts of things. Art loans, museums, expositions and associations, concluding with that of the Michigan State Bankers, from which he graduated into the secretaryship of the American Bankers Association, where in some capacity he has been ever since.

We had been in our Buhl Block quarters but a few months when it was found that we would require a regular club house for our activities. Accordingly the old residence No. 95 West Fort Street was rented and fitted up for the purpose. Here the first great annual meeting and banquet was planned, and carried into such successful consummation that it cheered and vivified the Republicans of the whole nation, gave us at once a nation-wide and exalted reputation, caused our plan to be adopted in many states and finally resulting in the organization a year later at Chickering Hall, New York, of the National League of Republican Clubs, that wonderful organization with many millions of members that performed such valiant service and assistance in keeping the Grand Old Party in power, for over a quarter of a century.

THE FIRST GREAT BANQUET

The first annual meeting and banquet of the Michigan Club was held on Washington's Birthday, 1886. A reception was held in the afternoon at General Alger's palatial home on Fort Street, the first of that delightful series of semi-social gatherings that made the genial General's hospitality a grateful feature of many memorable meetings.

The banquet was at Princess Rink, which had been beautifully decorated for the occasion and was made notable by the presence of some of the most distinguished Republicans of the country, including Senator Wm. M. Evarts of New York, Gen. John A. Logan, senator from Illinois, Governor J. B. Foraker of Ohio, and Senator C. F. Manderson of Nebraska.

Genial "Tom" Palmer, then our United States Senator, who had brought the guests on from Washington, acted as toastmaster and did it with such inimitable felicity that he was kept in that important position for six or seven successive banquets following.

One remark made by Senator Palmer in his opening address struck the popular ear and was much quoted afterwards. It was about putting our ears to the ground like the Indians of old, to listen for the approach of danger and for movements of friends or foes, saying that Republicans should listen with fullest sympathy to the movements of the grand army of wage-workers in quest of common weal.

General Alger, then Governor, welcomed the hosts of Republicans in a very clever little speech, his references to Senator Evarts, who was then the recognized Republican leader of the Senate, and specially to Gen. John A. Logan, then almost as much beloved as Blaine himself, eliciting great applause.

I cannot recall very much of what either Senator Evarts or General Logan said, except that they both commended our effort at organization and thought it augured well for future party success.

I recall that our then famous and witty Michigan congressman Roswell G. Horr of Saginaw was seated at the speakers' table and just at the last moment was called upon, and in a two-minute speech set the whole

assemblage roaring,—an incident that made that rotund, jolly but able congressman a welcome guest at many later meetings.

I recall very vividly that at a subsequent banquet Gen. Benjamin Harrison, who had just been defeated for re-election to the United States Senate, began his address by a sentence which ran all over the country—"I come to you a dead statesman, but a living and rejuvenated Republican"—an exclamation claimed to have had much to do with his subsequent selection as the party's standard bearer and his defeat of Cleveland and triumphant election as President of the Republic.

That first banquet was a success far beyond our expectations. It brought us nation-wide notoriety. We were given the credit of having worked out here in Michigan a national scheme of party reorganization a little in advance of other states. But the conditions were ripe for some such effort everywhere. Probably Evarts, Logan, Foraker and the rest took occasion to expound our plan on their return to their several home states.

By the following year, clubs more or less like ours ✓ had sprung up all over the land, and that great convention in New York City in December, 1887, amalgamated and cemented the widespread effort by the organization of the National Republican League.

Of the many great annual gatherings and banquets following, several were superior in merit to this first notable success, and all attracted wide attention. The McKinley banquets, so-called, were always great. McKinley was a staunch friend of the Michigan Club. He was most helpful and accommodating, and could

always be depended upon. And Michigan was always very loyal to McKinley.

Many very prominent people and some wonderfully eloquent orators graced the occasions of the Club's annual reunions. A glance at a partial list of speakers at the earlier banquets shows some great historic names. Besides Evarts, Logan, Foraker and Mander-
Original speaker
son, who came to the first banquet, there followed within the next few years a brilliant array of speakers, among them Benjamin Harrison and Major Wm. McKinley (both later presidents of the United States), Jos. G. Cannon, still in the ring, Jos. R. Hawley, Gov. John S. Wise, Senator Jonathan P. Dolliver, Green B. Raum, Warner Miller, Gen. James Longstreet, Senator Jacob H. Gallinger, Chas. H. Grosvenor, H. H. Bingham, John M. Thurston, Wm. P. Frye, B. K. Bruce, John A. Runnells, John R. Lynch, Albion W. Tourgee (famous writer), J. Sloate Fassett, Frederick T. Greenhalge, Joseph N. Dolph, Governor Richard Yates, Senator Anthony Higgins, Stephen A. Douglas (son of the great Stephen), Howard Duffield (eloquent divine), Wm. B. Allison, Henry Cabot Lodge, John L. Stevens, Stewart L. Woodford and Henry D. Estabrook. The last named will be remembered as by far the most eloquent man of all who addressed these great gatherings. His speech on "The Vengeance of the Flag" has become a classic.

Senator Tom Palmer, beloved by all, was the delightfully entertaining toastmaster of nearly all the earlier banquets, and he was a genius at the business—witty, eloquent and bubbling with a magnetic bonhomie. I recall that Alfred Russell once presided,—graceful, polished, dignified but very felicitous. Also

that John Atkinson was given one opportunity to charm the audience as toastmaster.

Of the activities of the Michigan Club outside of its annual meetings and famous banquets, it is impossible to speak in detail, and difficult to single out and mention those most successful. They were many fold. The general purpose was to interest voters in politics—Republican politics; to make them champions of Republican politics; and to educate, inspire and hold them ardently faithful to Republican principles, policies and practices. Good Government by party—the Republican party—was our watchword and slogan. To keep the party worthy, and make it safe, strong and successful was our aim. The old time party boss had become in doubtful repute and was passing. We aimed to replace his leadership by that of intelligent interest of the rank and file. We made no attempt at the control or dispensation of patronage, and there was an unwritten rule against endorsing any candidate.

We made a partial exception in the case of General Alger's candidacy for the presidential nomination in 1888, but came near splitting later on the question of endorsing Pingree for governor. ✓

ALGER FOR PRESIDENT IN 1888

Though there was no formal action of the Club as an organization in putting forward General Alger for the presidential nomination, still the members unanimously espoused the project with great enthusiasm.

The Alger movement was launched and mainly conducted by a self-constituted committee of the General's neighbors, friends and admirers, but as all

were members of the Club, the movement soon came to be regarded as a Michigan Club activity. Michigan had not had a presidential candidate since the days of Lewis Cass, and everybody in Michigan favored this movement. It aroused much enthusiasm.

How this movement was carried out and how near it came to being successful is a story that would be interesting to narrate here^{if} did space permit, as it forms an interesting and important incident in the political history of Michigan.

*22/11/1891
Michigan Club*

UNION WITH CANADA AND HAWAII

The Club talk on the question of a closer union with the Canadian provinces was made to include also a discussion of the admission of the Sandwich Islands—then so-called—as a territory of the American Republic.

Great interest in the latter subject was then taken, coupled with not a little indignation on account of President Cleveland's action in ordering the hauling down of the Stars and Stripes which had been flying for some time over those important islands of the Pacific.

Col. Frank J. Hecker gave a carefully prepared address on the "Sandwich Islands Question," based on a personal investigation of conditions and resources there, which left no doubt of the propriety and great desirability of re-acquiring the islands as a territory of the United States.

The Hon. Elgin Meyers, a brilliant lawyer of the Toronto Bar, had been attracting some local attention by his advocacy of a closer union of Canada with the United States, and he was the guest of the Club and delivered an address on that subject.

Hon. James F. Joy presided at the meeting, and, introducing the speakers, said there was no question of the righteousness and desirability of annexing Hawaii, and that the matter would be, as indeed it was, speedily settled. But on the question of a closer union with Canada, Mr. Joy observed that, if the distinguished barrister of Toronto had in mind anything in the nature of a political union, such a thing was, in his judgment, an impossibility.

Mr. Meyers' address, as I recall it, was a scholarly presentation of the economic and industrial advantages to both Canada and the United States of a closer political union of the two countries.

Mr. Joy's claim that desirable as such a union might seem it could never come to pass because Canadians as a whole were more loyal to Great Britain than Englishmen themselves, was prophetic in view of subsequent history.

THE PINGREE MOVEMENT

Likewise the Pingree Movement, so-called, was interesting and important, but it was not an avowed Michigan Club movement, though it grew out of Michigan Club activities.

There were very many conservative and substantial members of the organization who could not sanction all of Detroit's aggressive mayor's radicalism, and had the attempt to commit the Club fully to his various doctrines been pushed, it would have failed. The matter was wisely dropped. Mayor Pingree was an interesting, honest and useful citizen, and he developed into a clever politician. He became a most striking State Executive. His friends were legion. At heart he was a very kindly man.

MONTHLY CLUB TALKS

One of the most important lines of activity by which the organization sought to advance its objects was as stated the series of so-called Club talks, which were held at intervals, usually monthly, though sometimes more frequently in periods just prior to important campaigns. The purpose was to discover issues and harmonize sentiment, thus preventing schisms. If any considerable number of members manifested interest in any proposed political or economic action, a Club talk on the subject was arranged, and they were given opportunity to expound their doctrine.

Thus woman's suffrage was discussed, and the Wayne County Women's Republican Club was organized and held regular meetings at the Club House.

The First Voters' Club, the Young Men's Republican League and the Alger Club of Michigan were all successful offshoots or really subsidiaries of the Michigan Club. They formed an important means of carrying on its general work.

Of the officers and directors who guided the destinies of the Club during its first decade of useful activity, nearly all have passed away.

Buhl, Joy, Baldwin, McMillan, Alger, Palmer, the Duffields, Atkinson, Edson, Elliott, Thomas Berry, Pingree, Van Zile, Grummond, Dr. Carstens, Geo. R. Angell, Magnus Butzel, Horace Hitchcock, Jas. H. Stone, Robt. E. Frazer, Allan H. Frazer, Geo. H. Hopkins, Walter H. Coots, Dexter M. Ferry, W. M. Lillibridge, Mark S. Brewer, August Rasch, Oren Scotten and Otto Kirchner have gone to their reward.

Of the sixteen presidents, four or five are living,—Col. Hecker, alert and vigorous; S. S. Babcock, now in

his eighty-first year but mentally active; Clarence A. Black, who removed to California some years ago; Joseph R. McLaughlin, now a prominent business man of Cleveland; and myself, but I was younger than the others.

Col. Farnsworth, the famous and efficient secretary, is still active in financial affairs in New York, and Mr. O. C. Tompkins, later secretary, I believe is still living. The late Justice Flavius L. Brooke (rest to his soul) was secretary for a time, as was also Judge James O. Murfin.

All of the treasurers, Andrew McLellan, Frederick Woolfenden, Samuel R. Mumford and George Peck are dead.

Thus we see how brief is the span of human life.

And even great movements of widespread influence, effecting far-reaching results, achieving their objects, come to an end "like a tale that is told."

THE ADVENTURES OF ALEXANDER HENRY

BY STANLEY NEWTON

SAULT STE. MARIE

ABOUT a year ago I prepared with great care a paper on "The Life and Adventures of Alexander Henry," for the yearly meeting of the Society at L'Anse. This paper was one of tremendous erudition and scholarship, a paper that would have done credit to Father Gagnieur, Dr. Johnson, or the other learned and eminent men who have addressed the meetings of the present session. Fortunately or unfortunately for my L'Anse audience, the lateness of the hour prevented my presentation of the paper, and I was requested by Doctor Fuller to read the same at this year's meeting. This I felt was fortunate, since it gave me the opportunity to recount the most stirring episodes in Henry's career on the precise spot where they occurred. The paper which cost me so much time and labor I find I have left in my grip on the Island. I shall, therefore, speak *ex tempore*, trusting to memory for dates and incidents, and to these beautiful surroundings and to this occasion for inspiration.

Alexander Henry was born in August, 1739, in what is now the State of New Jersey. We know but little of his early life. His story starts with the utmost abruptness in the year 1760, when he accompanied the British expedition under General Amherst into Canada. This was the year following the decisive battle on the Plains of Abraham near Quebec, in which Wolfe and Montcalm went down to death to-

gether, and which determined Canada's fate as a British possession.

Henry came into Canada and to Michilimackinac as a fur trader, and permission to engage in this trade was reluctantly given him by General Gage, the Commandant at Montreal. No treaty of peace had been made between the English and the Indians, and the latter were still in arms under the leadership of Pontiac. But Henry knew that the English trader Bostwick had preceded him to this locality, and he used this fact to gain the General's consent to a permit for himself. As it happened, Bostwick was present with Henry at the massacre which took place on this very spot.

So we see Henry landing in safety on Mackinac Island, in 1761, where he found a village of about one hundred warriors, some of whom eyed him suspiciously, but apparently none suspected him to be an Englishman. He crossed the strait, and landed upon the beach before us with his assistant Campion and his goods, which were placed in a small house within the fort. Campion posed as owner of the merchandise, and Henry endeavored to conceal the fact that he was an Englishman, without success. Detected by the French inhabitants, he was promptly and civilly advised by them to get out, for to stay was to risk his life. He decided to stay.

His next visitors were the band of Chippewa warriors before mentioned, from Mackinac Island, under the leadership of their Chief, Minavavana. To the number of sixty they entered his cabin in silence, and in single file, each carrying his tomahawk in his right hand and a scalping knife in his left. The speech of the Chief, carefully recorded by Henry, would do credit to Pontiac or Logan. It ended with a handshake all

around and the Chief's request for some English milk, meaning rum.

His next visitors, who were three hundred Ottawa braves from L'Arbre Croche, were not so complacent. They were on the point of stripping Henry of all his goods, when three hundred British troops, under command of Lieutenant Leslie, appeared at the Fort, and Henry's troubles were over for a brief period. The traders despatched their canoes to outlying points, apparently under the care of detachments of soldiers, and although the season was late, Henry and his brothers felt sure of a tranquil and a profitable season. Henry spent the winter fishing through the ice and trading with the natives.

In May, 1762, Henry visited Le Sault de Sainte-Marie for the first time. Here he found a stockaded fort in the midst of a beautiful plain near the rapids. He was entertained by Monsieur Cadotte, the French interpreter, whose wife was a Chippewa. Pigeons and other game were abundant, whitefish were almost crowding their numbers out of the rapids, so thick were they in the clear waters. It was a summer paradise. Lieutenant Jemette with a detachment of British soldiery came to garrison the fort. Here, too, Henry fished with great success, and sent his dried fish to Mackinaw. On the 22nd day of December, however, all the houses within the stockade except M. Cadotte's, and a large part of the fort itself, were burned. Had this fire not occurred, it is likely that we should not have the stirring account of the massacre at Fort Mackinaw, as it was this disaster that brought Henry back to the fort at the straits in the winter of 1762-3. It is true that Henry was back at the Sault shortly

after for the maple sugar-making season, but the lack of living accommodations seems to have determined, as much as anything else, his choice of residence at this present site. And still there were indefinite rumors of secret hostility of the Indians, who came and went however with much show of friendship and respect.

Shortly after Henry's first arrival at Mackinaw, an Indian Chief named Wawatam had come to Henry's abode with his family and with presents. He told Henry that in a dream he had adopted him (Henry) as his brother, and begged him to accept the presents. Henry not only accepted, but made gifts in return, declaring his willingness to accept so good a man as Wawatam for a friend and a brother. To this circumstance Henry owed his life in the trying times which followed.

On the second day of June, 1763, Wawatam came to warn his brother Henry, in a very roundabout and typically Indian way, to get out of the country with no delay. Henry was busy, failed to sense the veiled warning, and remained. Wawatam, stolid Indian that he was, even let fall a few tears at Henry's refusal, but he did not inform his brother of the fate in store for the English.

The fateful day, June 4th, dawned hot and sultry. It was the King's birthday, to be celebrated by a game of baggatiway, Chippewas versus Sacs, ball-grounds and goals to be laid just without the fort gates, which were left wide open for the occasion. In a twinkling the ball game was converted into a massacre. The ball by pre-arrangement was knocked within the stockade, followed by troops of Indians, who with furious yells produced concealed weapons and launched

*Such attack
at Fort Michil.*

themselves on the English soldiers and traders wherever found. Henry, writing in his room, looked out the window to see Lieutenant Jemette scalped and butchered. From the bodies of others ripped open, their butchers were drinking blood scooped up in the hollow of joined hands, and quaffed amid shouts of rage and victory. Henry, shaken with fear and horror, dashed over his back fence to the house of his neighbor Langlade, having seen through his window that the French inhabitants of the fort were calmly looking on at the massacre, without molestation. Langlade refused to give him succor, but said nothing when an Indian woman offered Henry shelter in the Langlade garret. In the ensuing search for hidden Englishmen, the Indians almost stepped on poor Henry while ransacking the garret in which he cowered hidden under a heap of birch bark.

The next day Langlade, fearing no doubt Indian ill-will, voluntarily turned Henry over to the Chief Wenniway. Wenniway of course knew Henry, and it is likely he knew of the latter's brotherly connection with Wawatam. For Wenniway that day saved Henry's life from the attacks of other and drunken Indians, Henry's debtors some of them, who desired to kill him. Suspended between hope and despair, Henry's situation was a desperate one.

It appears that Henry's plumpness had reserved him for another fate. Together with Major Etherington, the traders Bostwick and Solomons, and others, Henry was taken in canoes toward the Beaver Islands. On the way the Chippewas and their prisoners were in turn taken captive by a band of Ottawas, who informed the whites that their intended destination had been the cannibal flesh-pots of the Chippewas

on the Beavers. Soon they were back at the fort again, this time with the Ottawas in possession and the whites still closely guarded. A great Indian powwow ensued. Now the Ottawas turned back to the Chippewas their prisoners, with the cheerful assurance to the latter that the Chippewas were about to make broth of them.

Just then, to Henry's immense relief, the long-absent brother Wawatam returned, while the Indians in council were debating the fate of their prisoners. Wawatam's plea for his brother and the Chief Minavavana's reply, as recorded in Henry's narrative, are excellent examples of Chippewa oratory. The assembly delivered Henry to his Indian brother, and the trader walked forth a free man.

Not so with the other prisoners. Seven of them were killed by one of the chiefs, and at least one of these bodies was cut up, boiled, and eaten on the spot. Wawatam's share, according to Henry, was a hand, and a large piece of flesh. This he ate in Henry's presence. What must have been the latter's thoughts as he watched his Indian brother consume that frightful meal!

Thus did the dream of an Indian save Henry's life, at a critical and desperate moment. For safety, Wawatam took his brother Henry to Mackinac Island, as being a place less likely to be surprised by enemy attack; and in fact, the entire Chippewa band at the fort on the mainland moved over to the Island. A supply of liquor having been seized by the Indians from some incoming Montreal canoes, Wawatam sequestered his brother from the possible assaults of drunken Indians in what is now known as Skull Cave or Henry's Cave, where the latter lay safely for two days until the

drunken orgy had spent itself. Then came a trip down the east shore of Lake Michigan with Wawatam and his family, in pursuit of beaver and other game. In the spring of the following year, Indians and white man returned to Mackinaw, whence Henry wished Wawatam to accompany him to Sault de Ste. Marie. The warning dreams of Wawatam's wife prevented Wawatam's going, and Henry leaves us a touching picture of Wawatam kneeling in the shallow water of the beach, praying for his brother as the latter leaves for the Sault with Madame Cadotte.

Here our narrative, for the purposes of this occasion, may fitly conclude. Henry afterward built ships at Pointe aux Pins, near Sault Ste. Marie, he engaged in the Lake Superior trade, prospected for copper and iron, and returned after many years to Montreal. There he married and became one of the city's greatest merchants, living to a ripe old age with the respect of many friends.

Henry's narrative, while not always consistent, is clear-cut, straight-forward, and very readable. One discerns no exaggeration; there is apparent a strong desire to record the facts with the utmost care; and such errors as the critics have found in the narrative are undoubtedly due to the fact that the story was finally compiled thirty years or more after the happening of the events described therein, being set down from memory and from scraps of paper on which the original jottings were made. If you are interested in securing a copy of Henry's work, now, I understand, quite scarce, I suggest that you communicate with Mr. James Bain, Librarian, Toronto Public Library, whose edition was issued by Morang & Co., Toronto, in 1901.

CHIEF POKAGON AND HIS BOOK

BY FRED DUSTIN

SAGINAW

A FEW YEARS ago the writer came into possession of a small volume bearing on its title page the caption, "O-gi-maw-kwe-nit-i-gwa-ki (Queen of the Woods)," written by Simon Pokagon, and printed in 1899 by C. H. Engle, Hartford, Mich. There have been plenty of books, good, bad and indifferent, which men have written out of the fullness of their hearts, but rarely have I read a book in which information, fact, history, pathos, romance and poetry have been so wonderfully combined.

Following the title page is this dedication:

As a token of sincere appreciation, I, Pokagon, hereby inscribe "Queen of the Woods" to all societies and individuals—benefactors of our race—who have so bravely stood for our rights, while poisoned arrows of bitter prejudice flew thick and fast about them, boldly declaring to all the world that "the white man and the red man are brothers, and that God is the father of all."

Following the dedication is a brief preface and a brief sketch of the old chief's life, covering twenty-nine pages, by the publisher, in which we are told that Pokagon was a full-blooded Pottawattamie Indian, and that his education, beginning at that time, consisted of three years in the Notre Dame school near South Bend, Ind., one year in Oberlin College and two years in similar work at Twinsburg, Ohio. His father, a chief, dying when Pokagon was ten years

old, had owned the site of the City of Chicago. As the representative of his people, he ceded the same to the United States for a large sum, but did not then receive payment. It was not until 1866 that Pokagon, after persistent effort, secured a payment of \$39,000 and in 1896 a further payment of \$150,000; and there still remains a large sum lawfully due to the remnant of the tribe.

Pokagon's life story is of intense interest, and is all too briefly told. His own writings are remarkable in language, thought and beauty, and I can do no better than to quote from his introduction to the story. When we learn that in the six years of schooling he acquired an excellent knowledge of English, French and Latin, and was able to read the New Testament in the original Greek, we have the key to the wonder, and we feel that had he possessed the restless ambition of white men of no greater ability, there are but few heights to which he could not have attained. But he was above these things; he was a philanthropist, a philosopher and a poet. He was a sturdy and unyielding foe of intemperance and vice in every form, and a staunch advocate of all that is good.

Pokagon devotes a short chapter to the Algonquin language. I quote a few passages.

Pokagon's description
"In presenting *Queen of the Woods* to the public, I realize that many of its readers will inquire why so many Indian words are used. All such will please bear in mind that the manuscript was first written in the Algonquin language, the only language spoken by me until fourteen years of age, and that in translating it into English, many parts of it seem to lose their force and euphony, insomuch that I deeply regret

that *Queen of the Woods* can not be read by the white people in my own language. In consideration of the fact that the language of the great Algonquin family is fast passing away, I have retained such Indian words and expressions as appear, as monuments along the way, to remind the reader in after-generations, that such a language as ours was once spoken throughout this loved land of our fathers.

"I also wish to leave on record the fact that our language is not a sort of gibberish, containing a few hundred words, but that on the contrary it contains at least twenty thousand words, aside from their many variations.

"There are only seventeen letters in the pure Algaic language: four vowels, a, e, i, o, and thirteen consonants, b, c, d, g, h, j, k, m, n, p, s, t, w. The sound of the vowels never changes: a, is pronounced as in father; e, as in met; i, as in pin; o, as in note. There are some diphthongs, and both vowels must be pronounced distinctly.

"There are nine parts of speech in our language, as follows:—The Substantive, The Pronoun, The Verb, The Adjective, The Number, The Preposition, The Adverb, The Conjunction and the Interjection. I believe that in our language there is greater liberty in the transposition of the words in a sentence than in any other, unless it may be the Latin, and in that the changes cannot be made without suffering greater violence than in ours."

Pokagon then takes the sentence, "Thy father will come here today," six words, and gives eight transpositions with the translations, using only four Algaic words.

He gives the names of the months in his language with their translations, which are:

- The Moon of the Spirit. (January)
- The Moon of Suckers-fish. (February)
- The Moon of Crust on the Snow. (March)
- The Moon of Breaking of Snow-Shoes. (April)
- The Moon of Flowers and Bloom. (May)
- The Moon of Strawberries-heart-berries. (June)
- The Moon of Raspberries-red berries. (July)
- The Moon of Whortleberries. (August)
- The Moon of Gathering Wild Rice. (September)
- The Moon of Falling Leaves. (October)
- The Moon of Freezing. (November)
- The Little Moon of the Spirit. (December)

He gives other examples of the language including the numerals, and ends the all too short chapter with the following sentences which I commend to those individuals who may have looked upon the American Indian as an ignorant, brutal savage.

"Having presented a very few of the peculiarities of our dialect, I trust that you will bear in mind, as you consider them, that they are but a few objects scattered along the shore, while the great ocean lies unexplored beyond; yet, having studied them, you will be better able to form a correct conception of the beauty, perfection, and magnitude of our language, than you otherwise could have done."

In the opening chapter of the story proper, Pokagon says: "On my return from Twinsburg, O., where I had attended the white man's school for several years, I had an innate desire to retire into the wild woods, far from the haunts of civilization, and there enjoy

myself with bow and arrow, hook and line, as I had done before going to school."

Accordingly, he in company with an old Indian hunter, and his mother, went a day's journey by canoe, to an abandoned wigwam in the depths of the forest, where Pokagon and his mother spent the summer. He says:

"Near the summer's close while living there, a little maiden, every now and then, appeared across the stream, with waist of red and skirt of brown, with waving tresses floating in the breeze, following up but never down the stream. She was always singing as she gaily tripped along, in mimicry of the music of the birds.

"While I was fishing along the river's bank for several days, each morning she so appeared while I was all alone, awakening such sacred feelings in my soul that I held it as a vital secret from my mother. At times, a snow-white deer about the maiden played in circles, like the lamb."

At last his mother discovered his secret, and Pokagon on the following day set about building a bark canoe. When it was completed, he clothed himself in native style, buckskin moccasins, trousers, and birchbark cap trimmed with quills and feathers, and in early morning before break of day paddled across the river. He then tells of the meeting, in words so beautiful that I must repeat them:

"Her dark eyes full of soul beam forth surprise. She sees the newly made canoe—the boatman sees. Softly, on tiptoe she turns about moving noiselessly away. With struggling heart pressed in my throat, I step from out the boat upon the shore, saying, 'Boo-zhoo?' Then I said in trembling voice, 'Nie-con'

(My friend). With modest smile almost suppressed from her dark eyes, she greeted back, 'Nic-con,' with voice so winning and so bland my heart-strings vibrated with her tones.

"Slowly I stepped toward her, when backward she withdrew, saying by look and deed, 'Please, sir, no nearer come.'"

I will relate nothing more of this courtship. If I tried to tell it in my own language, words would fail.

In due time in the "Moon of Flowers and Bloom," Pokagon and Lonidaw were married. He says:

"No wedding cards were passed around, no gifts were made, no bells were rung, no feast was given, no priest declared us one. We only pledged our sincere faith before her mother and the King of Heaven. Our hopes, our joys were one.

"Two years flew quickly by, when Olondaw, our first child was born. The night he came, no man of skill, or neighbors gathered at our home. All one, in the presence of the Great Spirit and myself, Lonidaw went down to the gateway of death's dark valley, and brought forth our darling boy, together with a father's and a mother's crown, one for her and one for me."

Three years later, a little girl, Hazeleye, was born in the autumn time.

When the boy was twelve years old, Pokagon and his wife were persuaded by a priest to allow him to go away to school. Lonidaw's father had been a drunkard, and she was more than reluctant to let the child go, but after exacting a solemn promise from the priest that he should be carefully cared for, she consented.

In three years he came home to die with the rum-habit so firmly fastened upon him that he could not break it. It was only in the second week at school that the beginning of his downfall took place. What so quickly became of that solemn promise?

When Hazeleye was budding into maidenhood, she was out on the lake fishing in a bark canoe. Two white men who had drunk freely of whiskey were rowing about the lake, and ran into her canoe, wrecking it, and throwing her into the water. The drunken wretches were too thoroughly drunk to attempt her rescue, and even guzzled at their bottles while she was drowning. Her mother and the dog saw her from the shore and tried to save her, but in vain, and Lonidaw herself would have sunk had it not been for the noble dog by whose assistance she reached the shore exhausted, where she was found by Pokagon on his return from hunting, but the shock proved fatal, and in a few short weeks, Lonidaw was laid to rest.

His tale of her death and funeral is so touching that I forbear relating it. On her death-bed, Pokagon gave her his solemn promise never to give up the fight against the drink-demon.

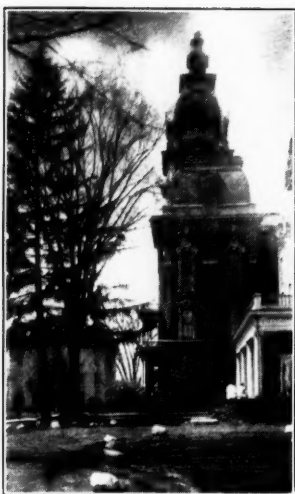
I wish that every one of the advocates of "light wine and beer," every demoralized bootlegger, every ignorant, greedy and sordid maker of moonshine, could read and be granted brains to understand this particular chapter of Pokagon's book.

The two last chapters of the book are powerful appeals for the temperance movement in the wonderfully poetic language of which Pokagon was master. Pokagon was a prophet. Would that this noble Indian could have lived to see the adoption of the prohibition amendment. But the prophets are not permitted

to see in the flesh what they see with the eye of the seer. It is well that they are not honored in their day, for the very calumny that assails them lifts them to far greater heights, and those who come after them profit by their inspired words. I will close with Pokagon's last words.

"Come forth, all ye lovers of justice, equity and humanity; stand in line, and in the name of your God, home and country, move bravely forward under the glorious banner of Temperance, on which is emblazoned in characters of life, 'Total Abstinence Now and Forever.' Let the general government decree that noble emblem, royally begotten by pity and love, to be the law of this loved land of my fathers and mothers, and Pokagon in full faith believes that in less than eight years King Cain of this generation will abdicate his throne forever, and the glorious sun of universal temperance will roll away the gloom-clouds of sadness and sorrow that now hang like a funeral pall above us, and will shine forth in newness of life, while the rainbow of promise will hang its archway of cheering aspirations across the pathway of the departed storm, filling the hearts of weeping brides, mothers, and children everywhere throughout this glorious land of my fathers with great joy and gladness.

"That new day of jubilee is surely coming; but on account of old age, I do not expect to behold it; but, thanks to high heaven, I am now permitted to stand where Moses stood, on the top of Mount Nebo, beholding Paradise regained, while from every future home in America, I hear the welcome voices of Pokagons and Lonidaws of every race with their loved children, shouting, 'Victory! Victory!' which rolls on, undying, to freedom's farthest shore."



CENTRAL HALL, HILLSDALE
COLLEGE



ST. JOSEPH RIVER

SOME PLACE NAMES OF HILLSDALE COUNTY

BY ARCHIE M. TURRELL

HILLSDALE COLLEGE

HILLSDALE COUNTY is in the middle of the lowest tier of counties of southern Michigan. Its name suggests its topography, for its surface is somewhat rolling and hilly. It forms a part of the watershed of the State, its highest point being 603 feet above Lake Erie and 616 feet above Lake Michigan. It is the source of all the principal rivers of the southern part of the State. Within its boundaries rise the Grand, Kalamazoo (once known as the Kekalamazoo), St. Joseph, Little St. Joseph, and feeders of the Raisin and Tiffin rivers. It sends water to both Lake Erie and Lake Michigan.

The origin of the names of rivers, towns, and lakes is so inextricably interwoven with the history of the county that a brief historical sketch is almost necessary. Facts concerning the earliest inhabitants of this region are somewhat mythical, but from old burying grounds found chiefly in Jefferson township there seems reason to suppose that the Mound Builders, descendants of the Aztecs, preceded the "noble red men." According to LaSalle the Miami Indians occupied the Valley of the St. Joseph River in 1678. In 1721 a band of Potawatomis numbering about two hundred came down from the Green Bay region, making the shore of Baw Beese lake their home. Concerning the naming of the lake, a letter from Mrs. Emily S. Hill of Houston, Texas, and other sources has this to say:

Richard Fowler was born in Westfield, Massachusetts, September 18, 1791. He came to Michigan in 1834 and took up land in Adams township. "We arrived November 11 and the hardships of that first Michigan winter cannot be effaced from my memory. And how while my brothers (Henry and Frederick Fowler) were skating on a small pond near our place an Indian came to them and told them that if they would go with him he would show them a big Beese (which was the Indian name for lake); they did so, and since then the lake has been known as Baw Beese." In 1840 the two just named opened a store in Hillsdale. The first white settlers on the north side of Baw Beese lake were John and Sam Gilmore. At this time Baw Beese's tribe numbered about one hundred and fifty and often camped near Bird Lake (Pen-nay-shen-og, or Lake of the Birds as the Indians called it). The Indian chief was known as the "peace chief" and has been described thus, "He was a tall, handsome, well-proportioned man. In business transactions his word could always be relied on."

By the treaty of 1833 the Potawatomis ceded the land in this section to the Whites, but Baw Beese remained here till 1840. He was transferred with his little band of followers to Iowa, and in 1850 was sent to a reservation about thirty miles square which was seventy-five miles west of the juncture of the Missouri and Kansas rivers. Miss Caroline L. Ford has this to say about the passing of the Indians:

"From the old house on the east end of our two hundred acres we saw Chief Baw Beese and the Indians of his tribe pass north along the road, being taken by the U. S. soldiers to the Missouri reservation. It was a pitiful sight, but no sound was heard;

one saw the Indian stoicism. The women carried the papooses and the wigwam equipments. The few ponies were ridden by the men."

If anyone has noted a map of Michigan, he will see that its counties are laid out in systematic box-like form in contradistinction to the counties or "shires" of the New England states. This is due to the early survey of the western lands in 1825. Present county surveyors comment on the accuracy of placement of the old iron markers which they occasionally find. When one thinks of the tangle of underbrush which the early surveyors encountered, it is remarkable. In 1827 this region was opened up for settlement by the Government. On June 8, 1828, Benaiah Jones, Jr., took up land at the present site of Jonesville; the town was given this name because of him. In the same year Captain Moses Allen, a veteran of the War of 1812 and a member of one of the early surveying parties, after having toured the valley of the St. Joseph in this section selected a prairie known by the Indians as Mas-co-et-ab-si-ac or Sand Creek Prairie. An old trading post owned by one Campau was located here previous to actual settlement by the Whites, but it now became known as Allen's Prairie. The village of Allen is now located here. It was mentioned that Captain Allen was a member of an early surveying party. In 1824 Congress authorized the construction of a highway one hundred feet wide from Detroit to Chicago. The original thought was to make it a straight line between the two points, but on recommendation of the surveyors the road followed the Old Indian Trail connecting the lower end of the two lakes. The Old Indian Trail, or The Great Trail, or the Chicago turnpike as it is now known,

enters the county two miles south of the northeast corner, passes through Somerset, Moscow, Jonesville, Allen and leaves the county one-half mile north of the center of the west line. An amusing incident is connected with the advent of the turnpike. About the time the road was first established, an Indian came to make a call on Mrs. Timothy Gay of Wheatland township. Once during the afternoon Mrs. Gay went to the hearth to look at her yeast which she was preparing for the baking. As she uncovered the yeast she was surprised to hear the ejaculation "Turnpike." The explanation was that the Indians had seen the Whites heap up the dirt in oval form, and had been told that it was a turnpike. It bore a resemblance to the raising yeast.

South from the turnpike at Somerset runs a road to Hudson. It is still known as the Plank road, because like others of the early roads it was built across low places by first laying planks lengthwise across the road. The village of Somerset was once called Gambleville after Thomas Gamble, an early pioneer in that section.

In the early times there were a few men possessed of such adventurous spirit that they built cabins along the road and began to keep hotels for emigrants and thirsty savages. One such road house was located at Somerset, another at Somerset Center. "Somerset Tavern" is still practically unchanged on the exterior but for the modern stone porch and a coat of paint.

A later geodetic survey was made of Michigan about 1875. In doing this work around Hillsdale County three high elevations were selected, towers erected on them, and the land surveyed by the triangulation method. The hills chosen were Prospect, Pratt,

and Bundy Hill. The first is in Lenawee County, but the last two are in Hillsdale. Bundy's Hill is reported to be the highest elevation in the Lower Peninsula. It was named thus because Warner Bundy once owned the land, and it still goes by that name. Two scenes of the turnpike are given as it passes over the hill about a hundred yards to the south of its summit. A view looking west from the summit shows the turnpike winding away toward Moscow. Twenty-two lakes can be counted from the hill on clear days, and on good nights the lights of Jackson and Hillsdale some eighteen miles away can be seen. It is located in the northeast part of the county.

Pratt's Hill is located within the west city limits of Hillsdale, and is also named after the man who once owned the land, Daniel L. Pratt, once a member of the county bar, who came here in 1845.

The St. Joseph River has its origin in Baw Beese Lake southeast of Hillsdale City, and finally ends its devious windings in Lake Michigan near St. Joseph. The river is said to have been named by LaSalle, the French discoverer, who built a fort at its mouth in 1679. This is not to be confused with the little St. Joseph of the Maumee which starts at Cambria Mills and finally reaches Lake Erie. There is another St. Joseph River flowing south through Ft. Wayne and ending in Lake Michigan concerning which a Reading booklet has this to say:

"It is a fact not generally known that the St. Joseph which winds its way to Lake Michigan has its source in Reading township."

The little St. Joseph of the Maumee runs through what is known around the south part of the county as Drinker's Valley. The valley is at the juncture of the

east and west branches of the river. In an early day a Dutchman named Drinker came to the valley, built a dam across the valley, and constructed a grist mill. From an elevation above the mill down to the water the old man had constructed two parallel tracks on which he operated two cars. Power was furnished by filling one car at the top of the grade and letting it coast down the grade, thus drawing the empty car up on the other track. One day the young son of Drinker was killed by a descending car. The father lost heart in the work, and continued in it half-heartedly till his death. His property was portioned among his relatives and the mill taken down. Portions of the dam and old mill, however, can still be seen.

About a mile and a half north of Drinker's Valley is Whitetown, or Austin as it is now known. The Whites were the first settlers in that part, hence the name. It has not entirely drawn away from the old cognomen, and is sometimes found on some maps under one name, on some by the other.

It is rather confusing to have three St. Joseph rivers in the county, and just how this happened I was unable to ascertain. The last of the three mentioned begins in Long Lake. The lake is about two miles long and a quarter of a mile wide, which fact suggests the reason for its name.

This county was originally known as the Town of Vance, having this nomenclature because the officiator at the naming ceremonies had a friend named Vance living in a neighboring state. It was first placed under the guardianship of Lenawee County. In 1831 the Governor proclaimed it a county, giving it the name it now has because a number of settlers around the present county seat had organized them-

selves into what they called the "Hillsdale Company." Jonesville was named as the county seat. It was later moved to Osseo, because of the more central location, but as no suitable buildings were provided it was moved to Hillsdale in January, 1843.

On March 17, 1835, the county was divided into four parts or townships: Wheatland, Moscow, Fayette and Allen. Later the first named division was separated into Adams, Amboy, Florida, Pittsford, Rowland, and Somerset. In Adams is located the village of North Adams, which used to be known as Cutler's Corners after Wm. Cutler who came to those parts in 1835. In 1850 Florida became known as Jefferson township, and in 1848 Rowland (named for Rowland Bird, the first settler in that section) was called Ransom.

Fayette was divided into Cambria and Scipio. Mosherville village is situated in Scipio township and derives its name from the Mosher family. The father, Samuel Mosher, a Quaker, came from the Hudson valley in New York and erected a grist mill in 1850. There can still be seen under the eaves of the mill the date 1850. It was the second mill in the township, the first being Genesee Mills erected by John Gardner on the St. Joseph River at an earlier date. Genesee is an Indian name meaning "shining valley" or "beautiful valley."

The fourth named division of the county, Allen, was subdivided in 1837 into Litchfield and Reading townships, and in 1839 into Camden. As to the origin of the name Litchfield the *Litchfield Gazette* of January 24, 1907, says:

"In response to last week's request for information concerning the naming of the village of Litchfield,

C. M. Stoddard comes forward with the information that the name was given to it by his grandfather. Grandfather Stoddard was Jesse Stoddard, who was born in Litchfield, Connecticut, and came to Michigan in 1836. At that time this harmless little group of buildings was known by the euphonious title of Smithville, having been named after Deacon Harvey Smith, who was one of the pioneer settlers. From these facts we deduce that Litchfield, Michigan, derives its present cognomen from that Litchfield in Connecticut which was the native town of Jesse Stoddard." There is a road in the village called Saratoga Street which was so named because at one time so many of the residents on the street came from Saratoga, New York.

Reading was once known as "Basswood Corners" from the fact that a group of seven basswood trees once stood on the intersection of Main and Michigan streets. These trees were from 12 to 18 inches in diameter and all came from the same stump. They were on land belonging to Thomas Berry and as they stood very close to the section corner he left them as a landmark. History has it that the Legislature gave the name of Reading after the old eastern town of that name. However, old timers have always insisted that it was named in honor of Wright Redding, one of the very early settlers who located on the west shore of Long Lake, where it was once thought of establishing the village. This version does not explain why the spelling came to be "Reading" instead of "Redding."

The trunk line railroad through Hillsdale from Toledo to Chicago was first owned by the State, and was known as the Southern Railroad. It reached Hillsdale in 1843, was extended to Jonesville in 1849,

and reached Chicago by 1852. A 1921 July issue of the Hillsdale *Daily News* contains this interesting little item about early railroading:

"L. A. Daniels of Adrian, formerly of Hillsdale, writes that if there is anyone going to Adrian this year to celebrate the Fourth of July, they will find traveling much different now than it was in 1847. That year a party consisting of Mr. and Mrs. Vely, Don Wells, Henry Keefer, and others made the trip. The party left Hillsdale at 6:00 a. m. and arrived at Adrian at 12:00 a. m. The train ride was then something of a novelty and was a part of the celebration. The men had lots of sport jumping on and off the train to kill rattlesnakes and pick strawberries. There was no danger of getting left, the train moved so slow. The train went on to Toledo. It was expected back at 6:00 p. m., but it did not return till midnight and the party was back in Hillsdale at 6:00 o'clock the following morning."

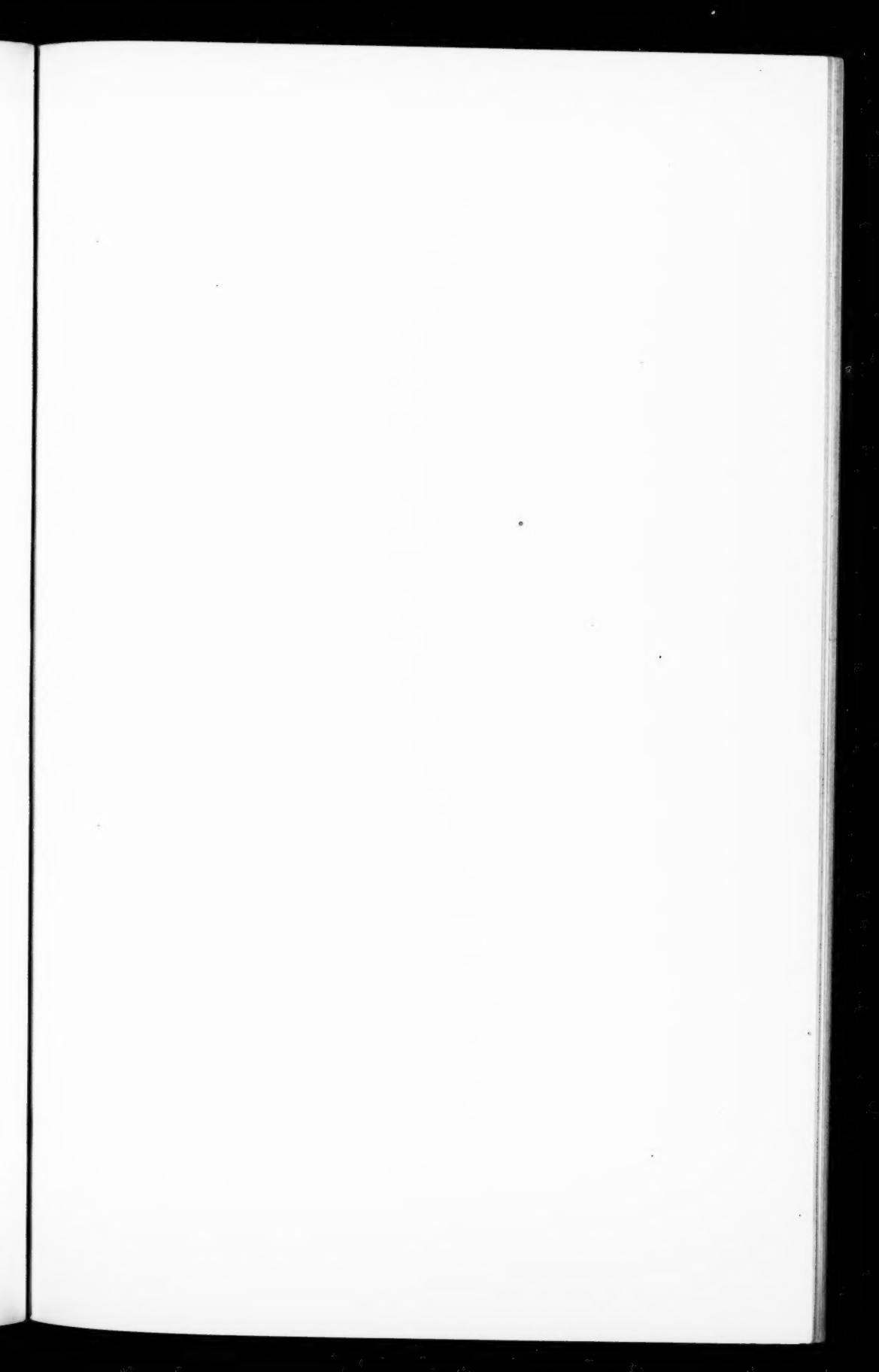
The county seat is also the location of Hillsdale College. The institution was opened at Spring Arbor, Michigan, in 1844, and was called Michigan Central College because of its central location in the lower part of the State. In 1853 new buildings were started at Hillsdale, and in 1855 the school opened here as Hillsdale College. It is the Alma Mater of Will Carleton, Michigan's beloved poet. The former county Poor Farm is still standing, around which Carleton built his widely known poem "Over the Hills to the Poorhouse." The property is now a farm house owned by Mr. Nelson Wolcott. It is situated close to the east city limits of Hillsdale.

One should not mention Hillsdale College without naming Mt. Zion, as it is interwoven with her tradi-

tions. Yes, the county has a mountain, though it hardly deserves the name from its size. Its naming dates back to the early days of the College when the institution was a Baptist school, and the young "theologs" in company with their "beaux" made Sunday pilgrimages to the lovers' Mecca. Here also budding ministers were wont to test their forensic powers on the patient bovine. The hill is about a half mile east of the school.

The "Winona," the College annual, published by the Junior class, is named for the daughter of Chief Baw Beese. Concerning the death of Winona the Rochester *Democrat* printed an item several years ago, which was published later in 1861 by A. W. Bennett of London in a book on Indian history. The tragedy is as follows:

"Winona, daughter of Chief Baw Beese, had killed her husband, Negnaska. By Indian law the Chief had to sentence his daughter to death, and by the same law the execution must be by the next of kin of the murdered one. Therefore, Jo-ne-se living near Ft. Wayne came to avenge his brother's death. The execution took place in Allen near the Camden line about a mile west of the house once occupied by John G. McWilliams."





SCENE OF WILL CARLETON'S
"OVER THE HILLS TO THE POOR
HOUSE"

REMINISCENCES OF WILL CARLETON

BY BYRON A. FINNEY

REFERENCE LIBRARIAN EMERITUS, UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

ON BEING asked to give some reminiscences of my boyhood playmate, schoolmate, and chum, Will Carleton, who came to be Michigan's loved poet and interpreter, I am overwhelmed with a multitude of memories. Only a few may here be jotted down, and they may not be the most valuable or instructive, but any facts of his life will be likely to testify to his character, or its development.

The date of Carleton's birth has been generally accepted as October 21, 1845, although there has been some difference of opinion as to the particular day of the month, owing to a birth date set down at the time of his registration at Hillsdale College. But this was not in his own handwriting, and it happens that we have recently found a statement in his own hand that settles any question in the matter. During his first period as a student at Hillsdale College, in the fall of 1862, Will kept a diary, in which he had begun to set down his inmost thoughts and aspirations. This little volume happens to be temporarily in my possession, in connection with the completion of Bragdon's *Life of Carleton*, which I hope to have ready for publication, or for such disposition as the Carleton Memorial Association may determine, at the time of its annual meeting at Hillsdale in October. In it, under date of October 21, 1862, the youthful poet has written: "Today I am seventeen," and then goes on to consider the little he thinks he has accomplished

in his first seventeen years, and to set down some of his hopes and resolutions for the future. It may be possible to publish this whole volume.

My acquaintance with Will began a little before the outbreak of the Civil War, when he was about twelve or fourteen years old, and I was some three years younger. His elder sister had married an uncle of mine, and we were thrown much together. His home was two miles east of Hudson, while I lived in town, and we visited back and forth frequently, as boys will, sleeping together, and enjoying the farm work together, that being attractive to a town boy.

Will's imagination was constantly seeing personality in the animals, and the "honest face" of one of the horses much impressed him. He would talk to the old sorrel horse as if he could understand all he would say, and interpret his answers in long-winded speeches of horse-talk.

And he was ambitious to make political speeches, getting up on some convenient stump, and urging me to mount another at a suitable distance, from which vantage points we would harangue each other on the vital questions of the day. My feeble voice in reply could attract little attention, but his bursts of oratory sometimes brought his father's command from a distance to get to work and not be wasting his time in foolish "stump speeches."

This was not later than his fourteenth or fifteenth year, when he had not yet left the district school on the corner of the Carleton farm. In this school, one winter or spring, they were to have an "exhibition," and somehow I was invited to take part in it. I recited a humorous piece of verse entitled "Uncle Ben," which told the exploits of a butting ram, and which

I had rehearsed in the Carleton home. More than fifty years after that, while visiting Carleton in Brooklyn, he proved the freshness of his wonderful memory, by reciting the whole of that poem, every line of which I had entirely forgotten.

It was at that same exhibition that some of Will's latent humor, so fruitful in his future poems, came to light. One of the features of the program was announced as "The Silent Cell." Will came out on the platform bearing a chair in one hand and a guitar in the other and sat down as if to play. And there he sat. No sound from the instrument, nor from the audience, which was sympathetic, thinking he had forgotten the piece he was to play. Finally he rose, and, with his chair and instrument, silently retired from the platform. It was some moments until realization had stirred the audience and the silence of the "sell" was broken with applause.

It is known to comparatively few of the readers of Carleton's poems that he wrote any dramas; but he did write several. They were produced on the stage, in order to hold the copyright, and were intended for only amateur performance. But there was a play, mostly of his creating, in which I happened to collaborate, which never reached the point of publication, nor was it even set down on paper. It was in 1865, when Will was trudging the two miles daily to the public school in Hudson village. With two girl students, we were scheduled for one of the "exhibitions" to put on a farce, the name of which I do not remember, but which involved the family difficulties of a certain Mr. and Mrs. Mouser. For some real or fancied affront, on the very day of the event, the girls went on a strike, and decided not to appear.

"Never mind," said optimistic Will, "Let's show 'em we do not need their help. Let's get up a farce of our own, for two to play." So we began rehearsing diligently an original comedy which would occupy perhaps some twenty or thirty minutes to carry through, and which we decided should be called "The Long Lost Brothers." We improvised as we went along, and rehearsed repeatedly until we felt quite prepared for the evening's performance.

But—! When the girls learned that we were able to go it alone, the strike was off. They came to us, and said contritely that they had decided to do their part, after all. The reconciliation was accepted, the "Long Lost Brothers" never had a public hearing, and a masterpiece of literature was lost to the world.

Carleton's college experiences in Hillsdale have been frequently told, but a feature of that life has been recently brought to my memory. While he and I were rooming together in the west wing of the College, which has since then been burned down, a room just above ours was occupied by Harvey Fuller, a blind student, who graduated in 1868, the only blind student ever graduated by Hillsdale College. It was our pleasure and good fortune, with some others, to read to Fuller and help him get his lessons, although, and sometimes to our mortification, he would come to the classroom better prepared in his lessons than were we who had read to him. Fuller was a credit to the College, and after a long life of public lecturing and the reading of his own poems, retired to a pleasant home in Tallmadge, Ohio, a suburb of Akron, where I saw him last summer, hale and hearty now in his eighty-eighth year. Until his death, Carleton kept up his intercourse and relations of friendship with

Fuller, which he always regarded as an inspiration in his own work.

During after years Will and I saw each other less often. Perhaps it was a sailing trip on Lake Erie, his part of which was brought to an untimely end by the fact that the comrade captain of our little sloop thought that his dignity could only be maintained by the exercise of much nautical profanity. Carleton left the cruise in high dudgeon, saying that he would not stand it to be sworn at by anybody, even if he was a captain.

Perhaps we searched the stars in the observatory at Ann Arbor. He was greatly interested in astronomy.

Perhaps we breasted the Atlantic together. A few years before his death we were in the sea at Coney Island, and became objects of anxiety for one of the guards, who hovered around us in his little boat as if looking for disaster. So we went far out, and tried his patience as well as our endurance to the utmost—"for," said Carleton, "he thinks we are a couple of old duffers who can't swim."

The story of his later life, of his attainment to eminence and popularity as an American poet and a successful lecturer, is better known; how he first struck the heart of the people with his *Farm Ballads*, particularly "Betsey and I are Out" and "Over the Hill to the Poor-House," and followed them with *Legends* and *Festivals*, both of Farm and City,—until the center tables of homes all over the country, especially those of farmer families, that did not show one of his volumes, were rare, and his name became a household word of inspiration.

Though the exigencies of authorship and publication, the publishing of his monthly periodical entitled *Every Where*, which involved him in great financial loss, did call him permanently away from Michigan, he was always at heart a Wolverine, and never lost his affection for his native State.

This is aptly shown in a poem which he read at a dinner of the Society of Michigan in New York, in 1906, in which he refers feelingly to his former newspaper work in Hillsdale. From this I quote:

Michigan! Michigan! How I do wish again
I had my old editorial "posish" again!
Keeping close tab on a rural community,
Cracking old jokes with astounding impunity;
Blowing long puffs with rhetorical reaches in,
When they brought apples, pears, pumpkins, and peaches in;
Gravely announcing the deaths and the marriages,
Also the new need for juvenile carriages;
Framing stray ads with much detail and pondering,
When a sheep, horse, hog, or heifer, went wandering;
Dunning the debtors, and soothing the creditors,
Dodging the chap that came gunning for editors;
Full of sweet joys and adversities fiery—
Penning and printing a village's diary!

Michigan, Michigan, dear unique Michigan,
Once more in memory's waves now we fish again!
Once more we feel thy moist atmosphere blessing us—
Once more thy glorious lake zephyrs caressing us;
And the night-winds through the pine branches clambering,
Sing us sweet songs that we still are remembering.
Now we are exiles; the hand of fate fingering,
We in the wilds of Manhattan are lingering;
Still our look back to our mother is dutiful;
Still if thou seekest peninsula beautiful,
Fill up the beaker, the pipe, and the dish again.
Give us a cheer and a shout for old Michigan!

It is to commemorate Carleton as the pioneer poet of Michigan, and to keep his memory and example alive before the people, and especially the children

of the State, that the WILL CARLETON MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION was founded. This was in 1915, less than three years after the poet's death in December, 1912. The Association has established a loan fund for deserving students in Hillsdale College, a policy in which Carleton had always been interested when a member of the Board of Trustees of the College. The Carletoniana gathered by the Association—his works and manuscripts, published and unpublished, portraits and material connected with his life, forming a regular literary museum, will be preserved, probably in a "Carleton Room," in connection with the Library of Hillsdale College.

The Lenawee County Federation of Women's Clubs placed last October a mammoth boulder and tablet by the roadside in front of the poet's birthplace near Hudson, and it is expected that the highway running from Toledo by the homestead and by the county poor-house near Hillsdale, where it is hoped to place another tablet next year, will be named the "Carleton Highway."

This highway was the road over which the poet's father, John Hancock Carleton, came as a pioneer to the Bean Creek Valley, and it is as a pioneer, the son of a pioneer, and the representative of the pioneer in poetry, that we hold Will Carleton before us in memory today.

At the annual meeting of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society in 1910, to an audience that crowded the Senate Chamber of the Capitol, he spoke these words: "I know all about the pioneer days. I know all about the hardships of those times, and I know all about the wilderness and its dangers;" and,

after a pause, he added, in his humorous way, "My father told me."

But he himself has told us, in enduring form, of the trials and hardships and courageous spirit of the pioneers who made the wilderness to blossom as the rose. This history, the actual foundation and strength of our commonwealth, our children must not be allowed to forget.

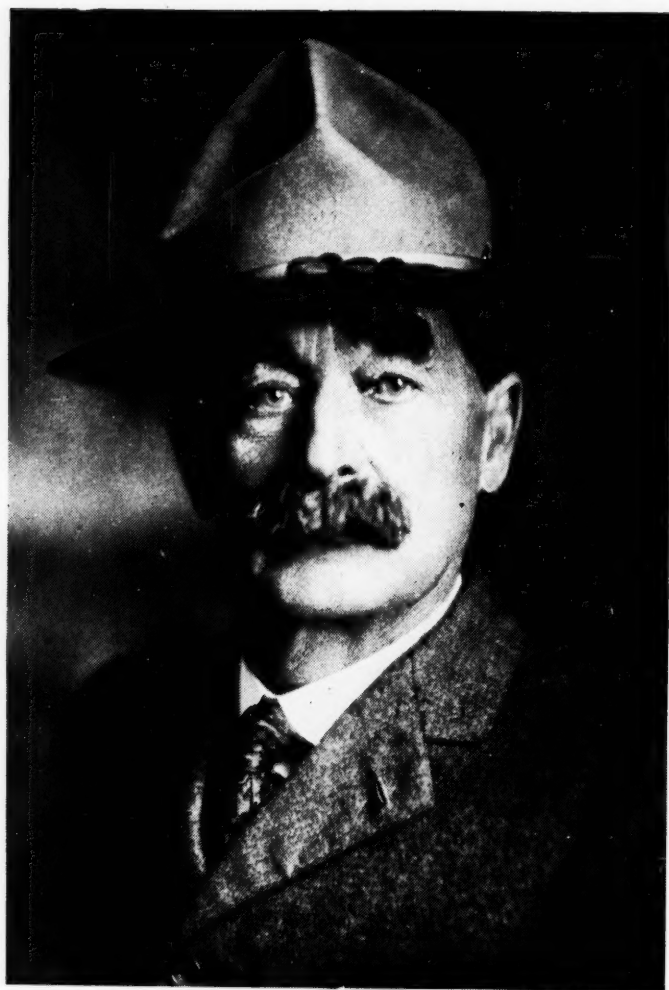
And especially must be kept before them, as an inspiring example, Carleton's own struggles and privations in order to acquire an education with which to accomplish the fulfillment of his ideals.

It is to keep his work and example before our children that, through the efforts of the Carleton Association and the wise foresight of our legislators, we have secured the enactment of the law, now effective in Michigan, for the observance of "Carleton Day" in the public schools of the State on the 21st of October in each year.

The story of his struggle for an education—a struggle involving hardship, economy, a great hope and a wonderful perseverance—this story, illustrated by its success and its literary product, cannot fail to be a stimulus and an inspiring example to the children of his own State; and the reading of his poems in the schools on "Carleton Day" will bring his voice again to be heard by our children's children:

The voice that always held a cheerful note,
And never told a hopeless story,
That sang the common life with swelling throat,
Its simple grace and glory.

And this, his message—we may hear—we can,
If earnestly we hark, and listen:
The diamond in the heart of every man
Will sometime—sometime—glisten.



CHARLES L. BELKNAP

CHRISTMAS DAY NEAR SAVANNAH IN WARTIME

BY CHARLES E. BELKNAP

GRAND RAPIDS

IN ALL the Christmas lore for ages past, Santa Claus comes from the land of ice and snow with high-headed reindeer adorned with many pronged antlers. Who has not seen in the frosty air of Christmas night in the North the reindeer sledge and heard the music of the bells and the voice of the ancient mariner of the air?

But who has seen the reindeer of the South? Only a few of the soldier boys of Sherman's Army, for who but the "bummer boys" would have thought of putting a pair of antlers on a pack mule's head and driving about an enemy's country filling the stockings of hungry babies. It was nearing Christmas day of 1864 when the Captain, with ninety men in command, received instructions to proceed at once to the relief of the citizens of a little village north and west of Savannah. Both armies had foraged the place and its people were without food.

The orders were concluded with the information, "Straggling bands of the enemy are pillaging. Caution and promptness are important."

One hundred mules were packed with hard bread, pork, coffee and sugar and, guarded by the ninety mounted men, filed up from the harbor wharfs through the congested streets of Savannah where fifty thousand refugees from the surrounding country, as well as most of Sherman's Army, and its own town people were assembled.

The road leading out into the country passed over wide marshy rice fields or along palmetto bordered sandy roads, where having to travel single file made the train half a mile long. Great flocks of rice birds came out of the marshes. Wild ducks whirled overhead. Lazy alligators slipped about on the muddy banks. At times we wound through the forests of live oak where long sprays of gray moss in festoons waved dreamily about in the wind. In places groups of magnolias with clusters of white blossoms gave out a fragrance under the clear sun of the Southern winter.

All this was so new to the men of the North who led the column in advance with their carbines ready for action against a possible enemy who might be sheltered in the great stretches of palms upon either side.

Many of these men had missed for three years the Christmas in the North. Said one, "I am singing to drive away the homesickness that is eating the heart out of me"; and the Captain answered, "Sing a song for me, for I am thinking of the stockings hanging by the chimney at home. Drop out by the side and tell the boys as they come along to sing. Damn them if they don't." And soon the trailing line with the clank of the bell on the lead animal, the shouts of the drivers, the crack of whips and the chants of the soldiers, were filling the air with their medley.

The shades of night were falling when we reached the village in the pines. The voices of mothers soothing their hungry children came from many a home where roses were blooming in the gardens, but there were no lights in the windows. The tramp of animals and the voices of the drivers marked another invasion of hungry soldiers and in alarm the doors had

been closed. There were no welcome greetings, their last bit of food for man or beast had disappeared.

The corral and camp were made in the village square. Fires were soon lighting up all about, the odors of frying pork and boiling coffee filled the air and, as the Captain had expected, mothers were soon coming with their children and grouped about with the soldiers, sharing in the rough fare.

Then the Captain said to them—and it was the first speech he ever made—"Uncle Sam is not making war upon women and children and has sent us with the best he had in store that you may have a Christmas dinner and will fill your tables with enough to carry them over until you can be cared for in other ways."

There was such a touch of home about it all—the women and children and the campfires, the Christmas spirit—that those bumper boys fairly bubbled over with happiness. Men joined in with the songs who had never tried a note before in their lives. When the fires burned low, the town people trailed away to their homes and the soldiers and mule packers rolled up in their blankets under the trees. Along toward the first rays of morning light, when sleep is so sweet, especially to the weary soldier, the camp was startled by a new order of Christmas music, by the loudest and most space penetrating bray they had ever heard. A moment passed and the bray was repeated in a deeper key; then another and another, each with a different modulation. Then all the mules in the corral volunteered in the operatic role and the morning air quivered with notes. Sometimes all the mules but one would cease and he would execute the solo part, the rest coming in by way of chorus. We had the

soprano, the first and second tenor, the baritone, the basso profundo and the falsetto. One would attempt a florid passage and the others would come in with applause or ridicule.

All the rest of that Christmas night the bell mule with a shake of his neck gave out the key, or, as Big Hank, the boss packer, said, "Set the chune."

We knew from experience that mules were vicious, but were now convinced they were totally depraved, that they had not the true Christmas spirit, but were possessed of a devil and they let him out through their mouths. These reindeers of the South were on strike for corn and their Christmas chimes kept agoing until they got their rations.

The particular reindeer that started that concert had once before made a record with the command and we loved him not, but needed him in our business. I remember well when we drafted him into the Army. We were making strenuous marches through the hill country, over rough trails where wagons could not be used and all equipage was transported on muleback. The boss mule packer was a contraband, known as Big Hank, who was drafted into the army from a plantation where he had inherited much mule training. One night, while in camp near the "Acorn Boys," he came in with a roan mule about seventeen hands high, a wild-eyed, long-eared animal, with a tail full of burs. That was a bad mule sign, but as we were in great need of pack animals we felt obliged to keep him, although he kicked down a company line of shelter tents before he was anchored to a tree for the night.

The command had made camp the evening before in a side hill forest, near the banks of a creek, not

knowing just where they were, but it happened a part of Joe Wheeler's confederate cavalry were camped on an opposite hill about a mile away. At daylight next morning Hank tried to pack that mule and there occurred an interesting dispute. The animal's head was well anchored to a tree, but his fighting end was busy—the score standing two to one in favor of the mule, as against the packer, who, armed with a club, was kept busy dodging heels. He had the advantage in the use of cuss words, but they made no impression on the animal's sense of military discipline. This disturbance aroused the enemy on the opposite hill and they came out to investigate and that led to a fight. Finally the pack was made up, blankets, coffee pots, frying pans, a music box that played four tunes, and last, but not least, three game cocks which were champions. One, known as Sheridan, had licked everything in the 14th army corps. Another was called Kilpatrick, because he would sooner fight than eat corn.

If it had not been for that roan mule we would have gotten away from the camp without a fight, but just about the time the last hitch was made, the music box grinding out, "Jordan's a hard road to travel" and the game cocks crowing defiance at each other, the first shell from the enemy's guns came crashing through the tree tops. It exploded near the pack mule and he, being a new recruit, tried to climb the tree to which he was tied. Not succeeding in that, he slipped his halter, charged down the hill into the creek, where, under an overhanging tree, the pack saddle with its load was dumped into the water. Half the command were at once in pursuit and, lined up behind trees, were fighting with the Johnnies for possession of

the duffle in the creek. Those game cocks, the music box and the coffee pots were salvaged. In the confusion, the mule, under full head, braying that forlorn and penetrating air that had wakened us on Christmas morning, went away into the forest to escape for a time the terrors of war.

So now on Christmas morning in the little Southern village Big Hank and his aides cinched his pack saddle, trimmed his halter with pampa grass plumes and loaded him to the limit with army rations. To the music of a cowbell they led a parade from house to house with their gifts until every woman and child was cared for.

These reindeer of the South have faded out with the trials and homesickness of long ago and the Bum-mer Captain with his great grandchildren at his side joyfully awaits old Santa Claus and his reindeer coming in on glistening paths of ice and frost."—*Michigan Tradesman*.

THE UNDERGROUND RAILROAD

BY MRS. MARTHA D. AIKEN

UNION CITY

THE time was 1843. The place a small village in southern Michigan, and on the bank of one of its rivers flowing west was Station No. 2, Underground Railroad. The station agent, known far and near as "The Squire," stood in the door of his shop just below the bridge intently watching the approach of a large covered wagon of the style known to pioneers as "prairie schooners."

"Possibly a train for my station," mused he.

The team stopped, the driver, a white man, alighted, followed by a small boy, black as ebony. Hastening out, the alert station agent gave cordial greeting.

"What place is this?" asked the stranger.

On being told, he asked,

"Any Abolitionists here?"

"Thick as blackberries."

"Where can I find one?"

"Look at me, friend, what wilt thou?"

"Food and shelter for man and beast."

"Plenty of both to which you are welcome. Cross the bridge, turn to the right. I will follow immediately."

"Ah! You don't know what you are bargaining for," pointing to the wagon. Looking within the Squire saw a man of about fifty years, a woman and

four children all of color contraband; the eldest, a boy of ten years, still standing by the driver, an interested listener.

"Not an unusual train for my station," said the Squire. "You are all welcome."

"What ribber be dis, massa; be dis de Jordan what we sing of down in ole Car'line?" asked the boy.

"We may call it a branch of that river, since by crossing the bridge yonder you gain freedom for your body, while you must plunge in the other to rid yourself of sin," said the Squire, smiling as he looked at the earnest face of the boy whose eyes sparkled as he turned toward the river.

"We have had a tiresome journey but it is evident we have reached a safe harbor at last," remarked the man, who was none other than Augustus Wattles, famous in that day as the "Quaker Abolitionist," whose home in Ohio was a refuge for escaped slaves, and who was conducting this company of refugees to Canada.

During the two days taken for rest and recuperation at Station No. 2, the story of the old man of the party, William Smith, a mulatto, was learned. He was from North Carolina, the slave and also the son of Percival Nelms, a wealthy planter. It was of such that Dickens wrote when he said: "He dreamed of freedom in a slave's embrace and waking, sold her offspring and his own in public markets." Although the relationship was well understood by this son, he had served as a slave for nearly fifty years. That Nelms had some regard for him was made evident by the fact that he had never permitted the lash to touch him and had allowed him to learn to read and write.

He had also promised that before his death he would give him his freedom notwithstanding he was valued at \$1,000.

Fifty years had passed when one morning William was called from the field for an interview with his father who said: "William, the time has come for me to fulfill my promise to you; here are your manumission papers," virtually a title deed to himself. (Hide your face, O Goddess of Liberty! A title deed to a human being in this, our boasted land of freedom!)

"You have some money," continued Nelms,— "Here is more, take the horse, Hunter, and go; he knows the mountain passes and you will have no trouble in finding the way; but let it be inferred you are going on business for me as you have often been. Go straight on, however, to Mercer County, Ohio, and give this letter to Augustus Wattles. You will find in him a friend."

Now came a cruel struggle in the soul of the slave. "Ought I to purchase freedom at such a price? Can I leave my wife and children in bondage and flee to safety?"

The decision had to be made at once, and obeying the scriptural injunction, he made unto himself "friends of the mammon of unrighteousness."

On an adjoining plantation lived Ralph Pemberton, between whom and the Nelms family there existed a deadly feud of long standing. Taking advantage of this, William sought assistance from the enemy and not in vain, for here, thought Pemberton, is an opportunity, patiently waited for, to strike an effective blow.

William had several children, the eldest, Andrew, a strong, active man of twenty years and valued as

a slave accordingly. It being impossible to effect the freedom of all, the father, acting on Pemberton's advice, determined to do his best for this boy, and a tripartite treaty was made, the parties being Smith, Pemberton and Andrew. Smith was to go directly to Mercer County and on his arrival there, his free papers, which were regularly made out, with the seal of the county affixed, were to be so amended as to describe and apply to Andrew. Thus altered they were to be sent with a letter of instruction to Pemberton; he would do the rest, and father and son should be reunited.

Thus comforted, William mounted Hunter in the morning and rode away, reaching the Quaker's home without mishap. There was at that time in Mercer County a small colony of Negroes, chiefly from North Carolina, who had been set free by their owners. This colony was under the guardianship and protection of Augustus Wattles. To him William revealed the plot for liberating his son, and it was entered into without delay; for although peaceful, law-abiding citizens, the Abolitionists were a law unto themselves in the matter of slavery, interpreting literally that clause which declares all men to be free and equal, no mention having been made as to color.

The important document was amended; the letter of instruction for Andrew was sent to Pemberton; then William Smith, now a refugee, with no proof of his liberation, started under the protection of the Quaker, with the Negro woman and her four children for Canada by way of Station No. 2, Underground Railroad.

Meantime the Nelms family had neither slumbered nor slept, and while putting on the appearance of

dove-like innocence, were using the cunning of serpents and kept their enemy under their constant espionage. The postoffice was watched,—Smith's letter to Pemberton opened, read, sealed and remailed.

The plan of the treaty had been that on receipt of the papers, Andrew should leave his master's plantation, secrete himself in a place provided by his friend, where he would remain until the heat of pursuit was over, when he was to be orally instructed as to his course, given the coveted papers and sent on his way.

Into the hiding place Andrew was led and secreted; his place of concealment was changed from one dark corner to another; weeks passed, his restlessness and fear were lulled by plausible reasons for delay and fair promises. At last, suspecting treachery, he discovered the paper, took it and under cover of night started for Ohio and liberty.

Unable to read or write, knowing almost nothing of the direction to follow, hiding by day and travelling by night, he finally reached the Blessed Refuge in Mercer County, hungry, footsore, and weary, having been taken up but once on suspicion of being a runaway slave; after the examination of his papers he was discharged without further trouble.

Up to the time of Andrew's departure the policy of the Nelms family had been masterly inactivity, but they had not for an hour lost sight of their slave. His several hiding places were known and also his flight before it was discovered by Pemberton. Now was the time to pounce upon their foe, and they did it with all the severity permitted by law. He was arrested, charged with running off a slave, a crime which in the estimation of slaveholders of that period was considered equal, if not worse than murder. Abundant

proof was in their possession and Pemberton was helpless in the hands of his powerful enemies. A fine of \$1,000 and costs of the suit was imposed. Security for the amount being taken on his slaves, of which he owned twenty. In return Perceval Nelms executed and conveyed to his arch enemy a title deed to the body of his grandson, Andrew Smith, according to the laws of North Carolina.

Four months had passed since the arrival of the big wagon which brought William Smith to Station No. 2. November had come and he was still with the Squire, who on this particular morning was attending to business on the flats when an unusual sight attracted his attention,—three Negroes on foot led by a white man mounted on a beautiful thoroughbred, for which the South has always been famous. A pair of capacious saddle bags—the suitcase of that early day—were thrown over the saddle.

“More wayfarers for my station,” said the Squire, hastening out to greet with friendly hand and cordial welcome the travelers.

“A goodly company you have under convoy,” said he; “an underground railroad train I presume. Well, you have reached in safety a way station where you must rest and refresh yourselves.” To all of this the stranger—Pemberton himself—gave acceptance with a low bow. At that moment William dropped his tools and rushing out clasped one of the Negroes in his arms, exclaiming: “Andrew, my son, bless the Lord!” The situation was explained, the long expected son had arrived. To emphasize his friendship, Pemberton dismounted and gave William a most friendly greeting and clasped Andrew in a close em-

brace. A second Judas indeed! beguiling with kind words him whom he would betray.

On reaching the house the men, black and white alike, were ushered in and the horse led to the barn where the Squire diligently grooming him was interrupted by one of the Negroes greatly excited: "You don' know who y' hab in dat house," he gasped.

"What do you mean, Pemberton is all right, isn't he?" replied the Squire.

"All right! He de very debil; he gwine take Andrew back to slab'ry. We know sumpin awful gwine to happen, for after dark las' night we saw a hor'ble goblin hidin' 'hind a stump, and dat man he ketch us jes 'fore we gets here."

"Oh well! do not fear," said the Squire. "We will show him a play worth two of his; it wins every time, for freedom is a trump card here."

Returning to the house, dinner was announced and Pemberton displayed his qualities as an entertainer. Crafty, base and treacherous, his appearance was that of a cultured gentleman, and he was bright and witty. It was not till night, when the enemy slept, that Andrew told his story. After reaching Mercer County he had found work and was industriously engaged when one morning he felt a tap on his shoulder and saw before him a United States Marshal with warrant of arrest in one hand and a pair of handcuffs in the other, evidently considering Andrew a dangerous person to attack. It developed that Pemberton on discovering Andrew's flight armed himself to the teeth with bowie knife and revolver, mounted his horse, effected the perilous mountain passes and reached the Negro colony in Mercer County, evaded the vigilance of its guardian, Wattles, and without being him-

self discovered found Andrew who now in handcuffs was taken into court charged with one of the most dreadful crimes known at that time in our land of freedom—love of Liberty.

But the good old Quaker was on hand and proved sufficient for the occasion. He found a flaw in the warrant large enough to let the captive through, who thus liberated lost no time in preparing to travel the road that led to Station No. 2, U. G. R. R. He was accompanied by two trusty friends, contraband like himself. There was in possession of the three a rusty knife and two ancient revolvers that might possibly go off. The night was dark, but carefully instructed by the Quaker for their journey they started.

Morning came. In a dingy, low-roofed log cabin inn, not far from the Mercer County Colony, there was one defeated sorrowful soul, a victim of the lawless scheming of Abolitionists. That man was Pemberton, and in all that region not one so "poor as to do him reverence" nor give him information concerning his absconded property. But the light of Underground Station No. 2 was not hidden, and riding swiftly he got on the track of the fugitives one mile east of that "Haven of Rest." They were now at the mercy of the law. The title deed to personal freedom once possessed by William Smith was of course useless, and equally useless for Andrew in whose interests it had been amended.

Here was a peculiar situation. Under the same roof was Pemberton representing slavery, with the law to support him, and the Squire representing freedom, earnestly striving for the privileges which the world accords to men. He remembered those great words of the Declaration: "We hold these truths to

be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." And although the law was at this time opposed to this declaration, the Squire was supported by a body of able men who believed the law of God superior to the law of State and were ready to respond at a moment's notice in defense of the oppressed. On the retirement of Pemberton to his room that night these men were summoned to give counsel in this emergency, and before separating they knelt, beseeching the Father of mercies to give them wisdom and to shield the fugitives in their peril.

It was morning, and the Squire, calling Pemberton to breakfast, was bidden to enter: "Look," said the guest, "Aren't these beauties?"—pointing to his open saddle bags wherein lay a six cylinder Colt's revolver and a murderous looking bowie knife with curved point and glistening blade. "This has the lives of six men in it," said he, taking up the revolver.

"Indeed," replied the Squire, looking at it with the eye of a connoisseur. "It looks like a good tool."

"You may well say that. I should be a hard customer to capture."

Running his finger along the blade of the knife, with all the nonchalance he could command, the Squire replied: "We think but little of such light implements in the North; we prefer the breechloading rifle and do some nice shooting with it when occasion demands; but let us go to breakfast."

The meal over, Pemberton accompanied Smith to the shop. His scheme was to quiet Smith's fears for the safety of his son, by reiterated professions of affection.

Andrew with his faithful guardsmen remained at the house watchful and wary. At several meetings of the Abolitionists during the ten days of Pemberton's stay he enlarged upon the direful consequences to himself should Andrew refuse to return. He had already decided it would be impossible to seize him where Abolitionists were the ruling party. "It will only be necessary," he said, "for him to cross the border of the State to exonerate me from the charge of running off a slave, otherwise my slaves must be sold and their families broken up." Great tears rolled down his cheeks, to impress his listeners with the tender relations existing between himself and his slaves.

Is it a wonder that honest men believed and sympathized with him? He gave the names of numerous titled men to verify his statements. Generals, majors, judges and others were cited, to whom the Squire might refer. Finally the Squire said: "Pemberton, give Andrew until December; we will meantime correspond with the gentlemen whom you have mentioned, and if they corroborate your statements we pledge ourselves to persuade Andrew to comply with your request; you in the meantime will be at liberty to return to your urgent business." To this proposition Pemberton gave ready assent.

An early breakfast was served; the departing guest with the manners of a Chesterfield bade adieu to the family, and grasping the hand of the host said: "On the honor of a gentleman I swear to fulfill my part of this agreement," and the declaration was accepted without question. The day passed, another morning dawned, breakfast was in progress at Station No. 2. Andrew's faithful guards had gone. He alone was gloomy and restless.

"What is the matter, Andrew?" asked the Squire.

"Don' know," he replied.

"Fear de mattah," said his father.

"Fear of what or whom?" asked the Squire.

"Slabeholders,—he think dey be arter him, and he neither eat nor sleep."

"That being the case you shall go over the line into Canada, find work and if all is well, be ready to meet Pemberton as we have agreed," was the Squire's reassuring reply. But among the Abolitionists who were too honest themselves to doubt the fair promises of Pemberton, there was one "Doubting Thomas." Henry Gage believed discretion to be the better part of valor. Meeting Andrew's friends after the departure of the enemy, he said: "Now, friends, I think the best time to prepare for war is when everything is peaceful, and I want to know what we are to do if all those promises have been given us as sleeping powders?"

"It isn't possible!" exclaimed all.

"Perhaps not," said Gage, "But we are bound to protect Andrew, and should Pemberton return he must be held until Andrew is out of reach. Squire, did he pay his board bill before leaving?"

"Board bill! there was none. He was my guest."

"Well, guest, or no, if he returns, he must be held here for an unpaid board bill, until we get Andrew across the U. S. line."

After much argument, that was agreed upon.

Down on the flats, not far from Station No. 2, was a big haystack, built on a rail foundation, where one could hide things animate or inanimate. Andrew's fears of capture increased hourly, so he was hid under the stack, to remain until removal was considered safe.

One morning as Andrew was resting contentedly in his retreat and the family was finishing breakfast at Station No. 2, bad news like a bomb was suddenly exploded in camp. A horse wet and panting dashed to the door, and the rider breathless with excitement exclaimed, "Pemberton is coming!—an officer with him for Andrew!"

It was true. Pemberton had ridden to the county seat, secured the services of a United States Marshal, and provided with handcuffs as well as authority expected to make an easy capture.

Scarcely an hour passed after the alarm before the pursuers arrived. Being admitted, Pemberton shouted: "I have come for my property, and in the name of the law I demand that you produce him."

"If the honest man whom you designate as your *property* had been as easily duped by your false promises as we were you might have found him here, but thanks to his knowledge of your treachery he is beyond your reach," calmly replied the Squire.

Like match to powder the wrath of Pemberton blazed. To be outwitted a second time by these hated Abolitionists was too great a humiliation to endure: "I brand you as a set of outlaws, utterly regardless of the rights of others. I'll dare anyone of you to come. I'm ready for you," shouted Pemberton in wrath, as he tore off his coat and clenched his fists.

"We have a better way to settle our differences in this part of the country," said the Squire. "The law is our refuge."

"And speaking of the law," interposed Gage, "we are not accustomed to having strangers and aliens eat the bread of honest toil for a week and leave without offering to settle the bill, so you may consider yourself

under arrest. Here is proof of my authority," throwing back his coat and showing his badge of office.

"Under arrest!" exclaimed Pemberton. "Do you dare treat me with such ignominy? Here, take your money."

"Oh, no; we are quite systematic in our methods and settle matters legally; we will, however, attend to the business as soon as possible," said Mr. Gage, "that you may start on your homeward journey. Meantime the rooms you have occupied for the past ten days are at your disposal."

Showing his unbounded wrath and indignation in unmistakable ways, Pemberton retired to those rooms more of a prisoner than he realized. He could not seek relief by escape, since there were no railroads, and his horse with saddle bags and weapons were safely guarded in a locked barn.

While these events were taking place, Andrew down under the haystack was being comforted and reassured by Joe Bell, who often hunted on the flats. On this particular morning he carried a remarkably large luncheon, and on pretense of resting from his long tramp through the fields he was putting the greater part of his food through the rails.

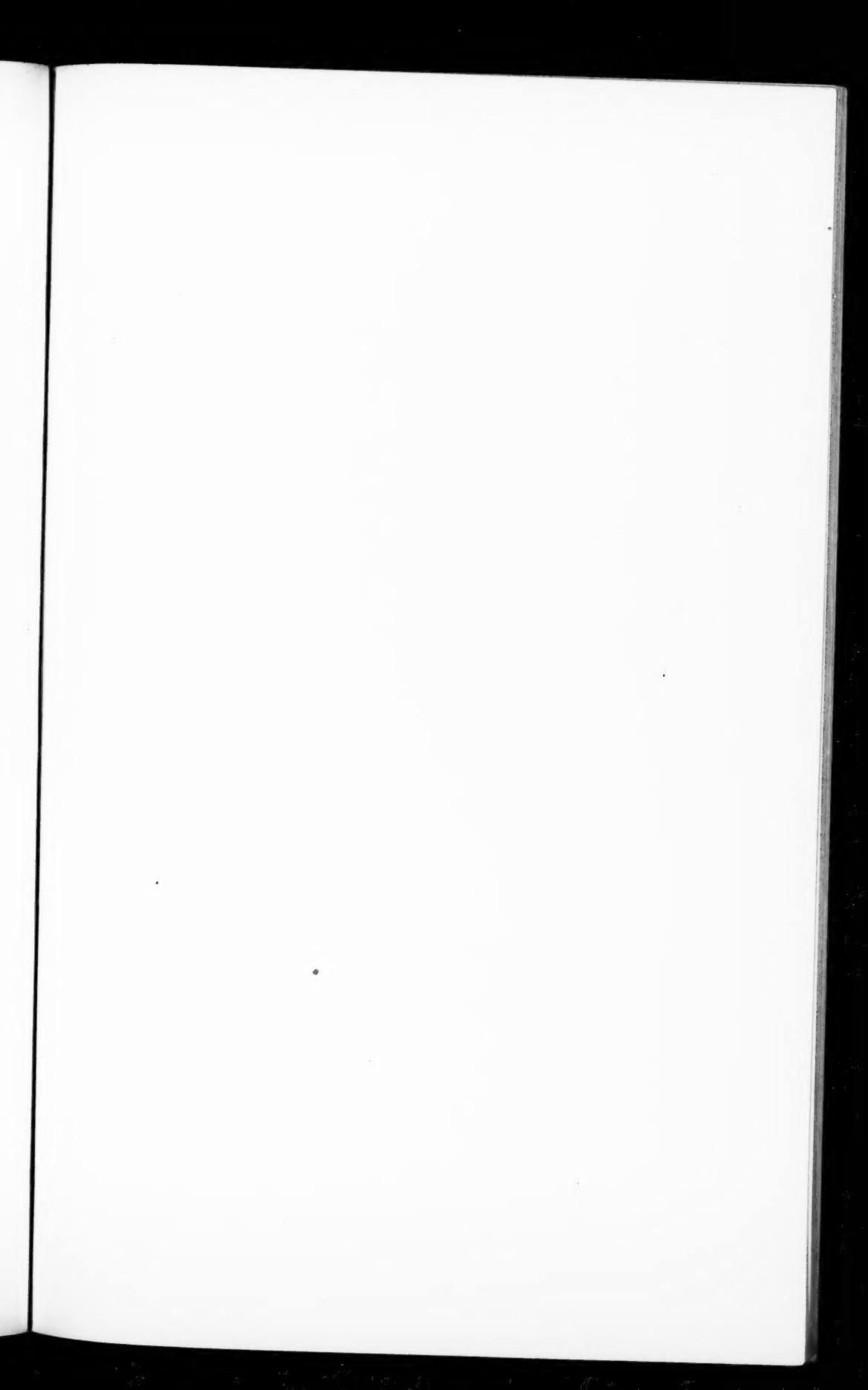
"Now boy, don't you get worried," he said. "Mr. Gage has gone for the preacher and old Pompey, you will be safe with them. By tomorrow you will be in Canada, where Pemberton can't get you. The Squire is keeping Pemberton here till you are out of his reach."

Among the Abolitionists of the village was the Congregational minister, who not only could preach but work with equal energy for the protection of his fellow man; for he read, as did others, that all men are brothers, without specification as to color. And so,

responding to the summons of Mr. Gage, "Pompey," a horse that had on other occasions traveled the road to freedom, was harnessed. In the wagon were two rifles, and in the preacher's pockets plenty of ammunition and patent caps.

"Not that I expect to kill anyone," said the preacher, "but my present business is Andrew's safety, and anybody that interferes will get into trouble."

There were two Underground railroad stations between No. 2 and Detroit. At one of these Pompey was exchanged for a fresh horse. Detroit was reached on the second day. There Andrew was transferred to a boat and was soon a free man. He remained in Canada for years, working faithfully until he accumulated considerable property. He visited Station No. 2 once with his wife and two children. His father, "Uncle Smith" as he was called by his many friends, still lived with the Squire. There also "Uncle Smith" lived to see that blessed day when he and all his race were made free by the Emancipation Proclamation.





RT. REV. MONSIGNOR FRANK A. O'BRIEN, LL. D.

RT. REV. MONSIGNOR FRANK A. O'BRIEN, M.A., LL.D.

BY SISTER M. CELESTINE, S.S.J.

NAZARETH ACADEMY, NAZARETH, MICHIGAN

THE influence of the Black-robe has been a potent factor in Michigan history from those early days when a Dablon, an Allouez, and a Marquette assembled the dusky children of the forest and taught them to praise the great Creator, to love the crucified Saviour, and to rejoice at the indwelling of the Holy Spirit. It continued when a de Seille and a Badin journeyed through the vast woodlands or paddled up the winding rivers to minister to the scattered faithful, to teach the eager young neophyte, or to baptize the dying babe. It became more powerful when a Richard labored for the social and moral good of a large community in and around Detroit, when he represented that community in the national Congress, and when he aided in the direction of the State University. It was a force when a saintly Sorin and his no less holy confreres journeyed over the wooded acres of southwestern Michigan everywhere dispensing blessings. That it is no less potent today we are reminded by the life story of the late lamented Monsignor Frank A. O'Brien of Kalamazoo.

The death of Monsignor O'Brien in December, 1921, created a void in the hearts of the citizens of Michigan. He was a man universally and deservedly beloved. Few had given more willingly of their time, their interest, and their zeal than this unselfish priest. And the reason for his generous serving is evident in the cardinal principle of his life: "the disciple is not greater

than the Master." He was a follower of the greatest Teacher of mankind,—the meek, gentle, and untiring Jesus of Nazareth. From the close and intimate study of our Saviour's life, Monsignor O'Brien drew up the model of his own apostolic career. Those who knew him best declare he was never found wanting. Wherever there was work to do, there was found Monsignor O'Brien. And once the work was assumed, it was an assured fact that it would continue to a happy completion, for Monsignor O'Brien was a man of undaunted will and a possessor of almost superhuman energy.

Someone wisely said, "Genius is nothing but the infinite capacity for infinite pains." That this is eminently true may be learned from the life story of this man who has been styled "the Catholic genius of Kalamazoo." Francis Alphonsus O'Brien was born of humble, God-fearing Irish-American parents, Michael and Margaret O'Brien, in the quaint old town of Monroe on June 7, in the year 1851. As far as can be learned his ancestry was eminent only in virtue, industry, and simplicity. Yet this son of toilers rose to a high degree of eminence both in Church and State for he took infinite pains with himself and with others. In his childhood days he had besides the influence of his sturdy father and his kindly mother, that of one who was ever held in highest esteem, the venerable Monsignor Joos, and the wise direction of a prince among American schoolmasters, Mr. John Davis. These four trained the young boy to an appreciation of all that was good and noble. And his ideals of Christianity, and of useful American citizenship were based upon the teachings, by word and by deed, of these four moulders of his youth.

When Frank O'Brien had completed his elementary school course, he spent a short time with the *Detroit Free Press*. The journalistic career attracted him but the longing of his soul was for "the courts of the Lord." Accordingly the young man began his studies for the priesthood. These he carried on at Assumption College and at Mt. St. Mary's of the West. He was ordained to the priesthood in 1877. A new life opened out before him, but the young priest was of a delicate constitution and his Bishop was lenient for the first few years of the priesthood. "Father Frank," as everyone affectionately called him, was appointed assistant professor at Assumption College, pastor pro tem. of St. John's, Monroe, assistant pastor at St. Vincent's, Detroit, and later private secretary to his Ordinary. It was not until December 14, 1883, that he came to Kalamazoo. Here was the zealous young priest to do his life work. St. Augustine's then was an ordinary country parish heavily in debt. Kalamazoo itself was famous only for its name. The thirty-eight years that witnessed the growth of the city saw also a change in Catholic activities, a change due, in large measure, to the truly apostolic zeal of the young priest assigned to the pastorate of St. Augustine's.

In the charges he had previously known a knack for organization was displayed and in his new post this gift was particularly prominent. A school had been established and was in fair condition, though a portion of it had to be equipped and steam heat introduced, but there was no organization within the church which could aid in parish development. The first work of this kind undertaken was the reorganization of the Young Ladies' Sodality. This took place during a retreat conducted by the Right Reverend

Bishop Borgess on March 10, 11, and 12 of the next year. On April 1st the Father Label Memorial Tablet was solemnly blessed. This was the first indication of the memorial tablet idea in the mind of Monsignor O'Brien. In rapid succession came the organization of the Young Men's Sodality, the Christian Doctrine Society, the Children of Mary, St. Anthony's Cadets, the School Society; and the women of the parish, not wishing to be outdone by younger members, began to work more faithfully in the Altar Society. A Purgatorian Society and a Temperance Society were also formed. A library was established and a series of socials inaugurated which not only materially aided the struggling pastor to meet the increasing demands for money but bound the people very closely together.

While all this had been taking place, Father O'Brien had interested himself also in the children. He believed fundamentally in the need of Christian education, and if he seemed extremely interested in the material well-being of St. Augustine's, it was only that the spiritual and moral good might thereby be advanced. To this end he spared no pains that the children of the parish might receive a solid education. He seconded all the efforts of the good Sister Servants of the Immaculate Heart of Mary then in charge of the school, and procured able young men who later entered the priesthood, as instructors for the older boys. He visited the classes and instructed the children in the principles of their religion while he encouraged their advancement in the common school branches. It was he who, realizing the benefits of education, inaugurated the free parochial school movement.

But though busy with school and parish, Father O'Brien found time to keep in touch with Catholic progress outside his city, so that he was well-prepared for the able paper on Catholic charities which he read before the State Board of Charities and Corrections. He was appointed to the membership of this board by Governor Alger in 1886. It is noteworthy that to his judgment Michigan owes a series of reforms in the charitable and penal institutions of the State. Mr. Harrison also recognized the worth of this energetic young worker. It is not known what drew the attention of the President to this Michigan priest, but by him Father O'Brien was made one of the examining board at West Point.

This same year, before the Michigan State Federation of Women's Clubs Father O'Brien read his scholarly paper on the Diocese of Detroit. This was Father O'Brien's first work in Catholic historical research. It opened up for him a new field of interest. Fortunately, for Michigan, his earlier and later associations were such as to further this interest; this region was particularly adapted to the work; and among his intimate friends were many who might aid him.

Another development of importance to Kalamazoo and its Catholic pastor was the division of the Detroit Diocese into sections called deaneries. At the head of each division was placed a priest remarkable for his prudence and ability and especially for his eminently priestly life. Father Frank O'Brien was selected as Dean of Kalamazoo and was made irremovable rector of St. Augustine's in 1886. This new office brought with it the duty of assembling the associated Fathers in conference each quarter. At these meetings questions pertaining to moral training, church progress,

and discipline were thoroughly discussed. Through them the spirit of the seminary continued to influence the life of each associate and the high ideals of the priesthood were maintained.

It was about this time that the young pastor was called to the county jail to administer the Last Sacraments to a dying man. The place was squalid and dirty. It lacked even the semblance of comfort. Father O'Brien questioned the turnkey as to the man's crime and was astonished to learn that not only was the man guiltless of crime but that he was a charity patient cared for in the jail because there was no hospital in Kalamazoo. This incident fired the enthusiasm of the charitable priest, who determined on the spot that Kalamazoo should have a hospital. The venture seemed of appalling magnitude to those who knew of the struggles St. Augustine's parish had endured. But the priest would not rest content. From this time on his own words in praise of a friend might be fittingly applied to himself: "His days were too short to realize his ambitions and his nights must have been dreams of how to make others happy." He met with rebuffs, but he was not disheartened. Speaking to his Bishop he said, "I will have a hospital or die in the attempt." Against such a will was it possible to contend? His Bishop thought not, and the first substantial aid for the new hospital was a Christmas gift of \$5,000.00 out of the Bishop's private fortune. In the spring the Walter home on Portage St. was bought for the hospital. And on July 6, 1889, Father O'Brien welcomed to Kalamazoo the eleven Sisters of St. Joseph who had responded to the call of charity and had come from Watertown, N. Y., to care for the new work and also to establish within the Diocese of De-

troit the Congregation of the Sisters of St. Joseph. Henceforth this band of women was identified with every movement for a better Kalamazoo. They became the willing helpers of Father O'Brien. But whatever of good has come to them is due to the initiative and unstinted devotion of the noble priest who was, in virtue of his right as Founder, immediately made their Spiritual Director.

The parish had been steadily growing and Father O'Brien was given two assistants. The first was Father Joseph McManus, a child of the parish; his successor was Father Thomas Ryan, and his associate Father John P. Ryan. These energetic young men were a great help to the busy pastor. As the years advanced these earnest priests were promoted to the pastorates of churches and their places were filled by younger men. Thus did Father O'Brien gain the opportunity of influencing diocesan growth. For his home was like a model seminary and he the Father-director. The exemplary priestly life of the older man was appreciated by his young confreres. They observed the regularity and order, the piety and zeal that characterized the pastor of St. Augustine's and in their own parishes they emulated all this. Indeed, after twenty years one of the earlier assistants was heard to remark, "I'd be perfectly happy if I could order my house and church as the Dean does his."

At the close of the Dominican mission in 1889, the first unit of the Holy Name Society in Michigan was organized by Dean O'Brien. At last he had a society for his older men and every group of his parish was brought under organized rule. To the end this remained the society dearest to the eager priestly heart. The second Sunday of the month was set aside as

Holy Name day and it was a marvelous sight to see this group of men performing in a body their religious duty. In and out of season Dean O'Brien preached the Holy Name Society. For his own band he designed the Holy Name button, the first to be used in the United States. By his earnest pleadings and his forceful writings he did much to advance the cause of the society throughout this country.

Meantime the need of a proper school building had become urgent. In the spring of 1890 the contract for a new building was let and in September 1891, the school, Le Fevre Institute, named in memory of the second Bishop of the Diocese, was formally opened. The Sisters of St. Joseph, at the invitation of Father O'Brien, assumed charge of the school. They taught the eight grades of the elementary course and continued to conduct the department of music. The new building and the children's delight in their school increased the parishioners' pride in their church and their admiration for the enterprising pastor.

In 1893 a parish paper was established and Father O'Brien added the duty of editor to his already long list of labors. For a time this little eight-page journal was published by a Detroit house and was known as the Kalamazoo *Angelus* but when it was printed in Kalamazoo, the name Kalamazoo *Augustinian* was given to the paper. The purpose of the paper was to familiarize the parishioners with affairs of the church, to give home news to the children of the parish whose life work called them from Kalamazoo, and to knit the interests of the mission churches,—there were several of these, Mendon, Otsego, Plainwell, and Watson,—to those of the mother church and thus to advance the cause of Catholicity.

Organization within the church had kept pace with the material progress. Two societies in particular deserve mention: the Newman Club, "a society for the mutual improvement and study for the younger members," and the Foley Guild, a social club for the young men. This latter organization erected a club house and gymnasium. It was completed in 1894, a monument for the Jubilee year of the parish. At the close of this year it was found that the parish was thoroughly organized, its appointments were perfect, and the per capita debt was \$5. It would seem that now the pastor might rest.

But Father O'Brien was a dreamer of dreams, a builder of castles, which unlike the castles in Spain, were bound to materialize. If there ever was such a being then he was a practical idealist. He dreamed of Kalamazoo as a Catholic center and he realized that if it was to become such, schools for higher education must be established. He accordingly began negotiations for a site and plans for an academy for girls. A two hundred acre farm on Gull Road three miles east of Kalamazoo was chosen as the ideal location and in the spring of 1897 the building was begun. By fall Nazareth Academy was ready for occupancy and the doors were opened to its first class. The advancement of this school became the cherished work of this zealous priest's heart. From the first he maintained that Nazareth must be a home school for girls and girls not of the wealthy class, but for those of moderate circumstances. For this reason the tuition was low but the ideals and aims were equal to those of the highest-priced school in the land. The Dean interested as he was in the growth of the young institution drove to the academy daily. And on recre-

ation days, the little girls watched eagerly for white-faced horses, because one, Prince by name, always brought Father O'Brien, and Father O'Brien always had sweetmeats hidden away in his pockets for the minims. Frequently Father O'Brien had a companion. Sometimes it was a visiting priest, or it might be the Reverend Dr. Gray, president of the Michigan Female Seminary, whom Father O'Brien often "picked up" or gave "a lift." These two gentlemen were the best of friends and the merits of their respective schools were often the subject of teasing conversation. At Father O'Brien's request the young ladies from the seminary were occasional visitors at Nazareth. During the first year of its existence, Father O'Brien himself looked after the spiritual and temporal welfare of the new school.

He carefully planned the course of study, provided that "worthy poor girls" be admitted, and interested himself in all that promised the betterment of Nazareth. Societies were organized. Literary, musical and debating clubs were fostered. And the publication of a school paper was encouraged. Every Friday night Father O'Brien spent at Nazareth. This was the night selected for "the talks" so well remembered for their inspirational effect by the first students of Nazareth. Late in the year, the services of a resident chaplain were procured. For this office the Reverend N. Sifferath, a venerable Indian missionary, was chosen. Then Father Sifferath's Indian stories were added to the many interesting fables of Father O'Brien and thus was instilled a love for history tales and folklore in the young minds of the students.

September 22, 1898, Father O'Brien brought to Kalamazoo a gentleman renowned in Catholic circles

and of high esteem in the diplomatic world, Archbishop Martinelli, who was to dedicate Nazareth Academy. A number of other distinguished ecclesiastics, and priests, prominent in the diocese of Detroit, also honored the city with their presence. By the year 1902 the academy had proved its ability to meet the need of the day and Father O'Brien directed his overflowing energy into another channel. There was no private school for little boys in Michigan and Dean O'Brien had noted with regret the sad neglect of boys. His big heart devised a way of caring for them. The interests of the academy could be made to reach out and include a school for small boys. The lack of means was made up by the generous gift of Mrs. Betsy Morton Barbour, the venerable mother of Honorable Levi L. Barbour of Detroit. Dean O'Brien had long been counted one of "Mother" Barbour's boys. In memory of the noble woman who mothered all boys as well as out of gratitude for her bounteous gift, he named the boys' school Barbour Hall. All that Father O'Brien had been to the older school he became to the younger. He was the ideal of his boys.

"Dean O'Brien's boys" they were proud to call themselves. And what marvelous associations he created for these boys. The great and good in Church and State were brought to the school; noble examples of goodness were set before the students and another advance was made in the cause of Christian education. So popular did this school become that within two decades it was enlarged three times. Cardinal Falconio solemnly dedicated the school October 29, 1909. The Muldoon-Hickey Band which has added greatly to the fame of this boys' school was organized at the request of Dean O'Brien. It was always his pride

and his delight. It commemorates two of Dean O'Brien's best friends, the enthusiastic Bishop of Rockford, Illinois, and the accomplished Bishop of Rochester, New York.

A classical high school for boys was established under the direction of the Basilian Fathers of Toronto in 1904. This was intended to do for the boys of St. Augustine's what was already being accomplished in the girls' high school by the Sisters of St. Joseph, to complete the work of the elementary school and to create a desire for more advanced studies. This school was successively taught by the Viatorians and the Fathers of the Holy Cross. As these societies were withdrawn because of scarcity of teachers, the boys' high school united with the girls'. It was the intention to maintain the co-educational school only until arrangements could be made for a young men's college.

St. Joseph's parish in the south end of Kalamazoo owes its origin to the initiative of this indomitable worker. St. Michael's Polish church is in the same measure indebted to him. St. Agnes Foundling Home was established at his instance to care for little outcast babes. St. Anthony's Home for the Feeble-minded also owes its beginning to his boundless charity. Away back in 1886 when Dean O'Brien served on the Board of Charities and Corrections the need of a school for the most neglected and despised of God's creatures was brought to him. It is characteristic of this noble man that he never forgot the lessons of earlier days. So when God's good time came, he provided a school, the first school of its kind under Catholic auspices to help the poor little ones of God. Originally it was located north of Nazareth Academy but in time a

beautiful farm on the Kalamazoo River in the village of Comstock was obtained and a splendid school was erected. It was for this, not to dedicate a grand cathedral, nor a great university, but a simple school for backward children that a prince of the Church, Archbishop Bonzano, Papal Delegate to the United States, came to Kalamazoo in September, 1912. The citizens showed their appreciation of this act by a public demonstration which has seldom been surpassed. They entertained the distinguished guest right royally but when the evening had run its course there came a demand, riotous and spontaneous, for the man whose zeal and splendid executive ability were equalled only by his practical service. He was found in the background delighting in the honor paid to others. This hour of public recognition and appreciation was a trial to him.

While these various works of such potency as moral and intellectual forces were being advanced Dean O'Brien had all along been riding a hobby. His preference in this line was indicated by his membership in the Michigan Historical Association and the Catholic Historical Association. Papers of considerable interest were those contributed by him at the 1912 meetings. These were published in a booklet under the title *Two Early Missionaries to the Indians*. They were Lady Antoinette von Hoeffern and Father Frank Pierz. Later he wrote *Forgotten Heroines* which deals in particular with the work during the Civil War of the Sisters of the Holy Cross. Describing these and similar booklets the editor of the *Michigan Catholic* wrote: "Monsignor O'Brien has published several highly interesting booklets in recent years which tell of the heroism and sacrifices of early day Catholic mission-

aries, both clergy and laity, and these are more interesting to read than any high class fiction. They tell in golden letters of the hardships, the trials and the ventures of the heroic men and women who crossed the seas to bring the cross to the savage, and in following in their footsteps through the pages of these little volumes, it is like treading the paths worn by the saints whose lives we are taught to read and emulate."

The greatest honor of this gifted man's life came to him March 14, 1913 when he was raised to the rank of the Monsignori and made a domestic prelate to His Holiness, Pius X. The occasion of his investiture on May 7 with the purple of his new office was memorable in the annals not alone of Kalamazoo but of the State. Congratulations from all parts of the country poured in upon him. Then it was this humble, retiring, yet enterprising and resourceful leader learned of the esteem in which he was held. Telegram followed telegram; letter followed letter; visitor succeeded visitor; editorials and journalistic notices proclaimed the greatness of the man who had labored so unceasingly to further God's kingdom on earth. One editor wrote: "No field of human endeavor open to the priest has Father O'Brien not entered, and in none has his influence not been convincingly felt. Well may he wear the purple then. It is the ermine of his wisdom and his greatness." Another truly said, "Purple will not increase the worth of Dean O'Brien, nor will any garment add to the sum of his merits." Ecclesiastic and statesman, priest and layman, old and young, united on that day to bless the name of Dean O'Brien and to sing his praises. Nor was there ever a more worthy subject of praise. All that he had, he gave freely,

and more, for he labored day and night for the greater honor and glory of God and the welfare of his neighbor.

Later in this year Monsignor O'Brien with his associates was responsible for the legislative enactment which provided that the Michigan Historical Commission become a regular department of State with the duty of "honoring the great men who made Michigan so prominent, of conserving and handing down the story of what our forefathers accomplished for our civilization and comfort." It seemed a natural consequence of such activity that Monsignor O'Brien should be appointed a member of the Commission by Governor Ferris and later that he be made president of the Commission. It was during his administration that the tablet idea, the credit for which Monsignor O'Brien assigned to Honorable Edwin O. Wood, originated. Several tablets were placed during the year 1916. Perhaps the most celebrated of these was the Cass Memorial Tablet erected on Mackinac Island as a present-day testimony to the worth of an honest man, Governor Lewis Cass. In presenting this memorial to Governor Ferris for the State of Michigan, Monsignor O'Brien rendered this tribute: "The holiest aim of humanity is that which was upheld by justice, wisdom, moderation, conciliation,—all were his virtues. He had the moral courage to defend the weak against the strong. No bribe, menace or insult could drive him from what he thought was right. He was an honest man." Strange that he should not have realized how accurately these words applied to him who delivered them.

best site

But time marches on unceasingly and so Monsignor O'Brien found and with its march progress is inevitable. Though Borgess Hospital had been twice

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enlarged since the equipment of the first building in 1899, by 1917 it had become evident that more room was needed for hospital purposes. Immediately the good priest began again. A site on Gull Road was purchased and a unit of a magnificent new institution was completed and ready for reception of patients in the fall of 1918. It was given the name of New Borgess and it was fortunate for Kalamazoo that the splendid energy of this untiring worker had not yet begun to flag, for when the dread "flu" epidemic seized the city and settled particularly in the S. A. T. C. groups, there was a hospital ready to receive the suffering boys, and nurses, gentle and tender, to care for the sick and dying.

This was the last active contribution of the heroically self-sacrificing man who so loved Kalamazoo as to spend his life for her. This same winter brought the outward manifestation of the dread disease he had fought for nigh a dozen years. The worn body refused to serve him who had always found happiness in serving others. Now began his Gethsemane. He who had gone so gladly to others awaited in a wheel chair the coming of his friends. He who had given ungrudgingly of his strength now relied upon the service of others. Yet though the body was frail, though it was torn with pain, he did not relax. He could still give brain service and gladly and wisely he counselled and directed, he considered and planned always with the thought of a better Catholic community, of a grander Kalamazoo. Once he said to his doctor, "Keep me going. I want to die in the harness."

But there came a day in the summer of 1921 when he realized that the task was too great, that he must yield a little of the responsibility weighting down his

tired but valiant heart. That day he sent for his Bishop, the Right Reverend Bishop Gallagher, and resigned the pastorate that had been his for thirty-eight years. After some days his Bishop accepted the resignation but in doing so he wrote to this martyr to duty a letter that must have cheered and comforted him as it gladdens his friends. One passage in particular should be quoted. Few are the men who in their lifetime have had such recognition: "Only in the lives of the greater Saints and the founders of our religious orders do we see such wonderful achievements as you have been privileged under God to accomplish during the years of your sacred ministry." The Monsignor's reply stated that he would be prepared October 1 to hand over the parish to his successor. It was October 28 when the final separation came. The old church of St. Augustine had been the scene of many a joyful and many a sad event. But that day it witnessed a scene that had no parallel in its history. The pastor who had grown old in serving his people came before them to say farewell. What a contrast there was between the handsome, vigorous, stalwart, young priest of 1886 and the bowed, worn, and trembling man who told his people good-bye. Even in this hour when he climbed Calvary's summit, he forgot himself to encourage his people, to thank those who had helped him during the heat and burden of the day. What wonder that the orator of the day in speaking of Monsignor O'Brien's material work said that *this* was not his monument, for it was not of brick and mortar, but of flesh and blood and was to be found in the lives of his people. It was a glorious tribute to the dear old pastor, one earned by loyal devotion and love. But the sweetest and saddest

came when his people knelt for his blessing and kissed the wrinkled hand so often raised in their behalf, to comfort, console, to absolve. God and his angels must have strengthened the feeble old man to endure that parting. Yet it seemed too much for the frail body and the Monsignor began to weaken only to rally in a last strong effort to add one more testimony to the need of Christian education. It was his last wish that the residence college for boys be opened by the Basilian Fathers in the old Seminary. November came and went, and December with its promise of Christmas joys gladdened the people of Kalamazoo for their Monsignor seemed to gain in strength. He sat more erect in the car during his daily drive and there was a rumor that he was beginning to walk unattended. December 18 he visited several of the institutions that had known his fostering care and he bade his Barbour Hall boys good-bye and Merry Christmas. The next day he visited the girls at the academy, chatted with and encouraged them. To these also he said good-bye and Merry Christmas and then he went home to his room at New Borgess to meet his lawyers and discuss ways and means for the new school. Truly he was to die in the harness. In two short hours he had answered the final summons and gone forth to meet the Master he had loved and served in joy and in sorrow.

Tributes of honor were part of the condoling messages sent to those who mourned the passing of a saint. He was termed prudent, generous, self-sacrificing, faithful, charitable, zealous, benevolent. He was praised for his work, lauded for his foresight, honored for his charitable magnanimity. And indeed he was deserving of all these tributes and more. His char-

acter had left its impress on a whole people,—a community, a state, a nation. He never asked of another what he would not willingly do himself. He received those whom no one else would befriend. His right hand knew not the good deed of his left. Yet if he were asked today how he wished to be remembered beyond a doubt he would say:

“To the heights of love divine
My lonely feet have trod,—
I want no fame, no other name
Than this,—a priest of God.”

MICHIGAN'S FIRST JUSTICE OF THE PEACE

BY WILLIAM W. POTTER

HASTINGS

*belmont
and friends*

AT THE close of the French and Indian War the military and trading posts on the Great Lakes passed forever from French control; but, notwithstanding the *fleur de lis* was supplanted by the cross of St. George, the colonists and traders at the western posts retained in a large measure their habits, manners and traditions.

Detroit, at this time, was a village community. Outside the garrison at the Fort and a few traders whose shops and storehouses were near at hand, the fixed inhabitants for the most part lived upon the front of their long narrow farms which extended from the river back into the forest sometimes for miles. Shortly after the Revolution, Major Matthews declared that had the British Peace Commissioners seen this delightful place they surely never would have signed away the right of the nation to it; adding, that in point of climate, soil, situation and the beauties of nature nothing could exceed it. Detroit was not the only western post, but it was the established military headquarters, the chief distributing place of presents to the Indians, and the center of British influence in the Northwest. It stood like an oasis in the forest wilderness. To the north stretched the widening, rippling blue of Lake St. Clair and beyond the tall primeval pines stood darkly silhouetted against the sky, southward the sun scintillated from the waves of Lake Erie's wind swept face, while to the west the solitude of the

unbroken forest, silent, mysterious and grand, greeted the traveller now just as a century before it had greeted LaSalle when he first traced his forest path across the State.

The Fort garrisoned by a hundred British regulars constituted nearly the only military force in all the region extending from Niagara to the Pacific, from the Ohio to Hudson's Bay. The business was almost wholly concerned in the fur trade. A few farmers tilled the soil and their crops and produce found ready market among the merchants, at the post, and among those outfitting for the Indian trade. But by far the greater part of those dependent on the post were Indians too shiftless to work and *coureurs de bois* of all races attracted by the wild life, reckless adventure and freedom from restraint which naturally followed embarking in the Indian trade; bold, hardy, reckless, quick with the gun, familiar with every lake and stream, the arts of woodcraft to them an open book; they packed their baled peltries across the portages, poled their batteaux up the rapids that often almost barred their way, and mingled with the red men of the forest with an ease which only their indifference to civilization could beget. They were not ideal citizens. Major Matthews, writing to General Haldimand in 1787, says, "In trade the lowest of all the profession resort to these obscure places, they are without education, sentiment, and many of them without common honesty. These are perpetually overreaching one another, knowing that they are too distant for the immediate effects of the law to overtake them."

Here was a free and unostentatious hospitality and a social atmosphere that spurned restraint. The

red sash and tasselled toque of the half breed bushranger was seen side by side with the scarlet coats of British subalterns, and the flashing eyes of Basque and Norman maids were seen as they danced indiscriminately with merchants, traders, bushrangers and officers of the Fort. At times these hardy pioneers faced danger without fear, but far more often they chose to placate with presents the savage red men rather than run the risk of ambuscade or open war.

Civil government at Detroit was conspicuous only by its absence. Captain Hamilton while commandant at Detroit retained his rank in the British regulars but he was also Lieutenant Governor of Detroit and was included in a commission of the peace of the entire province at large. Hamilton, writing to General Haldimand in 1778, indicated that he doubted the authority seemingly conferred upon him. Patrick Sinclair when about to be commissioned Lieutenant Governor of Michilimackinac in 1779, questioned directly the wisdom of accepting a commission uniting into his own hands both the civil and military authority. On August 20, 1779, General Haldimand wrote him that:

"As lieutenant governor you are of course civil magistrate. Mr. Hamilton whose commission is expressly the same as yours has always acted as such in cases where it was necessary."

Judge Frazer in his introduction to the *Territorial Laws of Michigan* says:

"In all matters of controversy between the inhabitants justice was meted out by the commandant of the post in a summary manner. The party complaining obtained a notification from him to his adversary of his complaint accompanied by a command to render justice. If this had no effect he was notified to appear

Must
Civil authority
submitted to
Military

Michigan
from

quits

before the commandant on a particular day and answer the complaint and if this last notice was neglected a sergeant and file of men were sent to bring him—no sheriff—no taxation of costs. The recusant was fined and kept in prison until he did his adversary justice."

This agrees substantially with Major Matthews' letter to General Haldimand, written in 1787, where it is said:

"The only resource in all matters in dispute is the commanding officer, for our justices of the peace it seems are not authorized to take cognizance of matters relating to property, on which almost every difference arises so that if the commanding officer is indolent or indifferent he will not hear them at all, or if he does hear and decide his judgment tho perhaps equitable may be very contrary to law and hereafter involve him in very unpleasant consequences besides that, acting in the capacity of a judge, his whole time is so employed that he cannot pay the necessary attention to his professional duties. It is much to be wished that some mode for the prompt and effectual administration of justice were established, for the want of it is a temptation to many to take advantages and commit little chicaneries disgraceful to society and distressing to individuals. In all matters where I cannot clearly decide I make the parties refer to arbitration, binding themselves to submit to the decision."

Calvert and judges

The condition which existed under Major Matthews had existed at Detroit for many years. In 1778 we find Lieutenant Governor Hamilton writing the Governor General of Canada, Guy Carleton, that "the persons resident at this place are chiefly traders and must give up their business if they accepted the

W. H. C.

place of judge, as it requires the knowledge of two languages besides some acquaintance with law proceedings. I cannot find anyone here who will undertake it." And again during the same year we find him writing General Haldimand that: "A very able and amiable person (Mr. Owen) was destined for the place of judge at this post. His absence which I have sufficient cause to lament has occasioned me to act at the risque of being reprehensible on many occasions * * * I am obliged to act as judge and in several cases as executor of justice."

Judge Cooley in his *History of Michigan* says that "at the beginning of 1767 Captain Turnbull who was then in command issued to Philip Dejean a commission as Justice of the Peace but with such specification of powers as seemed designed to make his court one of arbitration and conciliation only." Mr. Utley in the first volume of *Michigan as a Province, Territory and State*, says: "One Philip Dejean was appointed by Hamilton a Justice of the Peace and to him apparently was given jurisdiction in all matters civil and criminal." In a marriage contract of July 27, 1770, Dejean describes himself as "Philip Dejean, Royal Notary by act of law, residing at Detroit," and not as Justice of the Peace. In some cases temporary commissions as justices of the peace were granted by the commandants of the posts but these commissions were in all cases ratified by the Governor General. If Dejean was commissioned by the commanding officer at Detroit as a Justice of the Peace this ratification seems to have been overlooked.

Lieutenant Governor Hamilton in a letter to General Haldimand written in 1778 says:

"Mr. Dejean who has been justice of the peace here a long time is indefatigable but he as well as myself require to be better informed and better supported."

Judge C. I. Walker in a paper read before the Wisconsin Historical Society says "Criminal justice was administered by a justice of the governor's appointment and a jury was provided for in criminal cases by the Quebec Act and the sentence of death was more than once inflicted."

In February, 1777, Governor General Carleton wrote Hamilton that he was included in a commission of the peace of the entire province, adding:

"In that capacity you have a right to issue your warrants for apprehending and sending down, any persons guilty of criminal offenses in the district at least such as are of consequence enough to deserve taking the journey but these must be signed by you and not by Mr. Dejean whose authority is unknown here." The Quebec Act was passed in 1774 but these instructions to Lieutenant Governor Hamilton from the Governor General are not entirely consistent with Hamilton's letter above quoted. Again on September 15, 1777, we find the Governor General writing Hamilton saying: "I am not authorized to delegate the power of appointing civil officers to any persons whatsoever."

This correspondence establishes that Dejean's authority as Justice of the Peace was unknown at the office of the Governor General, and therefore it is improbable that his commission, if he had one from the Lieutenant Governor, was ever ratified, and that Hamilton had no power or authority to appoint Dejean a Justice of the Peace at all, for in the same letter

the Governor General says: "Neither the civil or military officers of your settlement can be properly authorized to act in their several capacities without commissions from the Governor or Commander in Chief of the Province."

These facts however were not sufficient to disconcert Dejean, who was at all events a Justice of the Peace *de facto*, as some learned to their sorrow, because his orders were backed up by military authority.

We can see Dejean even now, short, fat and swarthy, of active mercurial temperament, with an exaggerated idea of his own importance, with a fixed conviction that his official dignity must be upheld at all hazards, a pompous, pious bungler who was willing to send any suspect to the gallows on short notice for the fee there was in it.

His office, one scant story in height, roughly constructed of logs chinked with timber and plastered with mud, with shake roof and puncheon floor, the rude door creaking upon its wooden hinges, the latch-string hanging outside, stood a short distance from the site of Detroit's present city hall. The floor was plentifully besprinkled with tobacco juice which from every part of the room had fallen short of the fireplace at which it was aimed; a few hand made chairs, a table whose whitewood top had been planed by hand and above which were rudely constructed pigeon-holes, the handiwork of some frontier artisan, completed its equipment.

It was here in March, 1776, there was brought before Dejean a Frenchman named Jean Contencinau, charged with stealing furs from Abbott & Finchley, a commercial firm, and Ann Wyley, a negro slave,

charged with stealing a purse of six guineas from the same firm, the money having been found upon her person. Dejean impanelled a jury of six Englishmen and six Frenchmen and before them the case was tried.

Mr. Utley says the jury returned a verdict of guilty, that the prisoners were sentenced to be hanged, that "the woman was reprieved but the man was hanged a week later." Judge Walker says that they were tried for stealing and for attempting to set fire to the house of the same firm, that the jury acquitted them of the last offense but that "they were sentenced to be hanged" * * * "and they were hanged accordingly." Mr. Hemans says that the woman was given her liberty for acting as executioner of the man. Mr. Frazer, who agrees with Judge Walker, says he gave the original papers in the case to Mr. Lanman for his history of Michigan, and Lanman says "The record of this trial has come down to us and it is a most singular document." He says nothing of the woman but declares they "convicted the individual of the crime alleged against him." Undoubtedly one at least of them was executed.

We have seen that Hamilton regretted that he had acted as executor of justice and in a manner that seemed reprehensible. Others undoubtedly had the same view, for the grand jury of the Court of King's Bench in Montreal on September 7, 1778, filed a presentment against both Hamilton and Dejean, charging them as follows:

"The jurors for our Sovereign Lord the King for the Body of the District of Montreal do present that whereas by certain testimonies and evidences to them offered it hath appeared that one Philip Dejean of Detroit, in the district aforesaid, hath at divers times

during the years of our Lord 1775, 1776, 1777, at Detroit aforesaid in and under the government and command of Henry Hamilton, Esq., the Lieutenant Governor of Detroit, aforesaid, acted and transacted divers unjust and illegal, tyrannical and felonious acts contrary to good government, and the safety of his Majesty's Liege subjects. The jurors aforesaid upon their oath aforesaid are bounden to present further to this Honorable Court that it may be stated and represented to His Excellency, His Majesty's Governor in Chief, in and over this province that the said Henry Hamilton hath not only remained at Detroit aforesaid and been witness to several illegal acts and doings of him the said Philip Dejean, but has tolerated, suffered and permitted the same under his government, guidance and direction, and as commissioner as proven upon oath before this inquest, hath authorized the said illegal acts and doings of the said Philip Dejean."

Before their arrest Hamilton and Dejean both left Detroit and before either of them were reached there was a change in the administration of Canadian affairs. Lord George Germain, now Governor General, in a communication under date of April 16, 1779, says:

"The presentments of the grand jury at Montreal against Lieut. Governor Hamilton and Mr. Dejean are expressive of a greater degree of jealousy than the transaction complained of in the then circumstances of the province appeared to warrant. Such stretches of authority are however only to be excused by unavoidable necessity and the justness and fitness of the occasion and you will therefore direct the Chief Justice to examine the proofs produced of the criminal's guilt and if he shall be of opinion that he merited the punish-

ment met with, tho' irregularly inflicted, it is in the King's pleasure that you do order the Attorney General to grant a nolle prosequi and stop all further proceedings in the matter."

On July 4, 1778, George Rogers Clark, fresh from his victorious campaign against Kaskaskia, Cahokia and the settlements on the Illinois, captured Vincennes, a settlement of about seven hundred inhabitants on the Wabash River at or near the present site of Vincennes, Indiana. Hamilton was anxious to dislodge the Americans, and having obtained permission from Montreal he set out with a considerable expedition by way of the Miami and the Wabash to attempt its recapture. Clark was absent with his men and the post fell easy prey to Hamilton's superior force.

It was necessary to send supplies from Detroit to Vincennes and on February 9, 1779, an auxiliary expedition under command of St. Martin Adhemar left Detroit for that place. News of his indictment had undoubtedly reached Dejean, for Judge Walker says:

"By the urgent request of Justice Dejean he was permitted to accompany the expedition in order to obtain from Governor Hamilton his warrant or authority to justify his own conduct as magistrate and especially as to the executions already mentioned."

News of the British success had reached Clark at Kaskaskia and he now undertook by a perilous winter march across the snow and ice-covered prairie to reach Vincennes. This he did after great hardships and intense suffering on the part of his men. Hamilton surrendered to the Kentucky colonel February 23, 1779, and learning of the approach of Adhemar's expedition laden with supplies and provisions, Clark

dispatched Captain Helm who had been compelled to surrender the fort at Vincennes to Hamilton to capture it. This Helm did, and on March 5, 1779, Dejean was brought to Vincennes a prisoner of war. Dejean had letters and papers for Hamilton who says, "Mr. Dejean heard we had fallen into the hands of the rebels but had not sufficient presence of mind to destroy the papers which with everything else was seized by the rebels."

In a letter written April 19, 1779, by Moses Henry, an attache of Clark's army, Dejean is spoken of as the "Chief Judge of Detroit."

Early in March, 1779, Dejean together with Hamilton and others started their overland journey of twelve hundred miles to their destination, the Virginia prison at Williamsburg, where they arrived June 15 of the same year. Here they remained for some time. A parole was offered the prisoners, but while its terms seemed to Hamilton to be too onerous to be accepted by him they did not apparently so affect Dejean, who after one hundred and twenty days in prison accepted the parole offered him, it seems largely through the influence of Thomas Bentley, and returned to Vincennes. July 28, 1780, Dejean wrote the commandant at Detroit and referring to the charges against him and Governor Hamilton says:

"The only thing in which I can reproach myself is in having too blindly obeyed his orders. I flatter myself that if the affair had been conducted according to the real tenor of the law he only would be to blame."

In this same letter he declares that he cannot visit Detroit without violating the terms of his parole, and urges the commanding officer to allow Madame

Dejean and his family to come to Vincennes. On the same day he dispatched a similar letter to General Haldimand.

At this time the French were actively assisting the Americans. Dejean was undoubtedly satisfied to remain at Vincennes which was within the territory actually controlled by the colonists and whose French inhabitants were as friendly to them as was prudent when their proximity to Detroit is considered.

Here Philip Dejean disappeared from view. Far down the winding Wabash near the spot immortalized by "Alice of Old Vincennes" lie the remains of Philip Dejean, Grand Judge of Detroit, whose name will be known to history long after you and I have passed away. His only claim to fame, his outrageous usurpations of power, his illegal and arbitrary condemnations and executions and the fact that he was the first judicial officer who dwelt within and exercised jurisdiction over any part of the territory now constituting the State of Michigan.

THE BEGINNINGS OF DUTCH IMMIGRATION TO
WESTERN MICHIGAN, 1846

BY HENRY S. LUCAS

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*Leider niet
geen show in 1846*

VERY little is known of the reasons which induced the Rev. A. C. Van Raalte and his band to sail from the Netherlands in October, 1846, and found the Dutch colony of western Michigan in the following year. These events have, it is true, repeatedly engaged the attention of several writers. The first of these was D. Versteeg who produced his popular *Pilgrim Fathers of the West* in 1886.¹ This book was published as a presentation copy by the publishers of *De Grondwet* to their subscribers, and appears to have found considerable favor. Its vogue, however, appears to have been lost to-day; copies of it are well-nigh unobtainable. In 1893 Dr. Henry E. Dosker published his biography of Dr. A. C. Van Raalte in which he presented in so far as the data were then accessible a much fuller and more accurate account of the early stages of the movement.² For many years the well-known pioneer and trustee of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, Mr. Gerrit Van Schelven of Holland, Michigan, devoted a part of his leisure to cultivating an intimate acquaintance of the

¹D. Versteeg, *De Pelgrem Vaders van het Westen. Eene geschiedenis van de worstelingen der Hollandsche Nederzettingen in Michigan, benevens eene schets van de stichting der Kolonie Pella in Iowa*, Grand Rapids (C. M. Loomis & Co.), 1886.

²Henry E. Dosker, *Levenschets van Rev. A. C. Van Raalte, D. D.* "Een man krachtig in Woorden en Werken." *Een der Vaders der Scheiding in Nederland en Stichter der Hollandsche Kolonien in den Staat Michigan, Noord Amerika. Uit oorspronkelijke bronnen bewerkt door Rev. Henry E. Dosker, Nijkerk (C. C. Caltenbach), 1893.*

Grondslagen der Verrening van
Christenheit voor de Hollandsche Volk-
verkeering naar de Verreningen laten in Amerika

Art. 1.

Waarom aan of meer dan een van de Verreningen
tot en komst der Colonien/landen/verrening, alle
mensche/land/tuynen/jaren oud/en daar twee/lijn/
stingelgelden.

Art. 2.

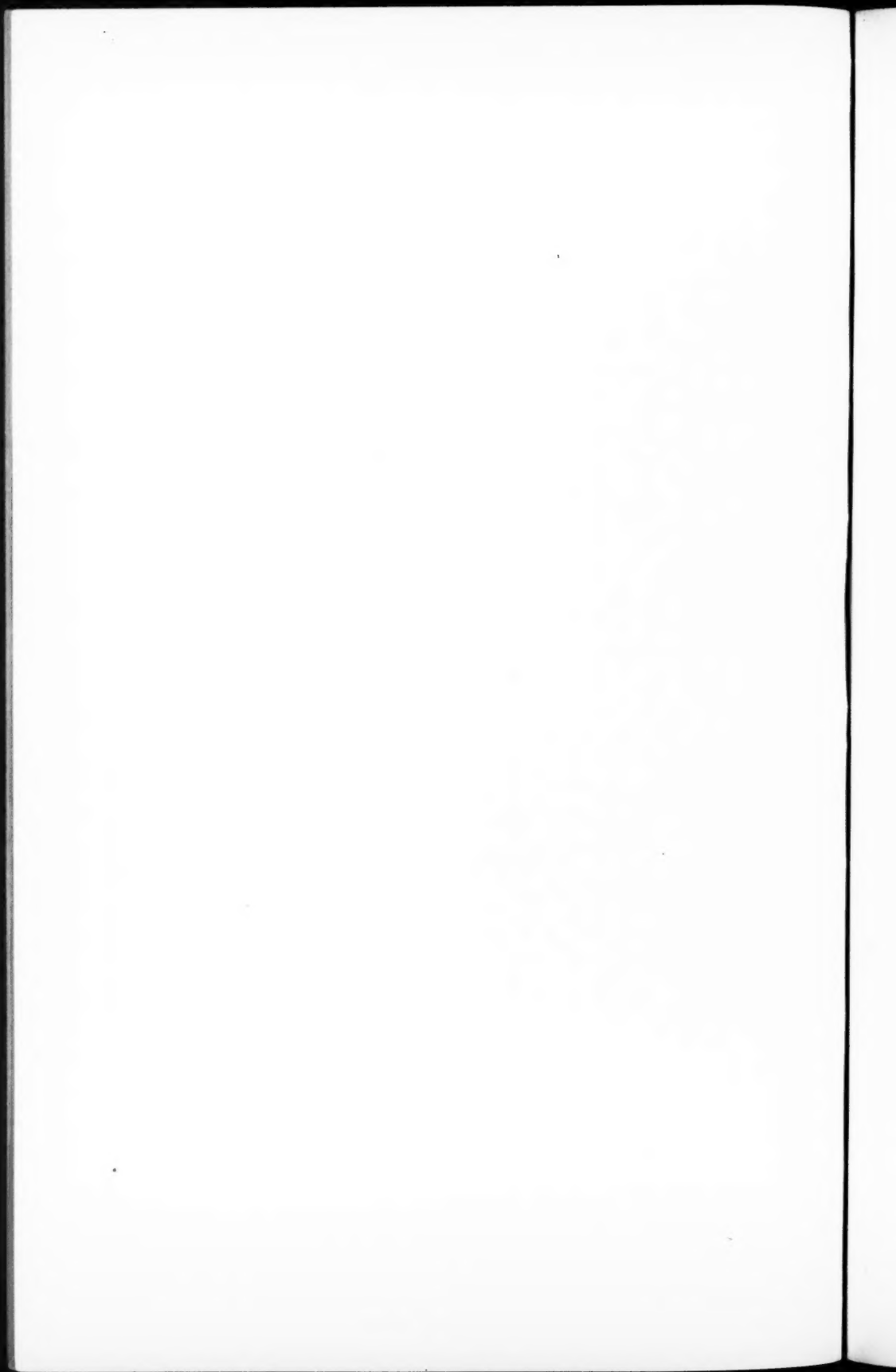
Wat bestudeert berischt in handen van twee/Commissien
een in het Nederlands/land/en een in de Kolonie/land/
Commissien, ieder twee/land/en/jetal, een kolen/land/
in het Nederlands/land/en de stichting/land/ten/ten
coning, en in de Kolonie/land/en de Regenten en daar
beveiligde/land/en/maatschappij/maatschappij/land/
Opvallende/land/en/maatschappij/maatschappij/land/
Vrijen/land/en/Commissien/land/en/land/en/land/en/land/
lijken de eijendoms/maatschappij, doch in de algemeene/
grondslagen/land/en/land/en/land/en/land/en/land/en/land/
kunnen worden gebracht, door met goedvinden van
land/en/land/en/land/en/land/en/land/en/land/en/land/en/land/
Land van de geheele Verrening/land/en/land/en/land/en/land/
land als in Amerika.

Art. 3.

De Commissien/land/en/land/en/land/en/land/en/land/en/land/
tot god/en de/land/en/land/en/land/en/land/en/land/en/land/
beveiliging/land/en/land/en/land/en/land/en/land/en/land/en/land/
land/land/en/land/en/land/en/land/en/land/en/land/en/land/en/land/
land/land/en/land/en/land/en/land/en/land/en/land/en/land/en/land.

Art. 4.

Bij verschil van gevoelen/land/en/land/en/land/en/land/en/land/en/land/
bestelt door een/land/en/land/en/land/en/land/en/land/en/land/en/land/
twa derde/land/en/land/en/land/en/land/en/land/en/land/en/land/en/land.



movement of which he himself was a member. A number of popular and useful articles from his pen have been published.³

Also in the Netherlands has there been interest in the matter, especially in recent years. In 1910 Dr. A. Brummelkamp, Jr., member of the Second Chamber of the Dutch Estates General, published a biographical study of his father, Prof. A. Brummelkamp⁴ who, as brother-in-law of the Rev. A. C. Van Raalte, was intimately associated with the early attempts to send poor Netherlands to this country. In describing his father's activities as pastor in Arnhem, the author had occasion to give a very good account of the beginnings of this movement.⁵ Unfortunately, this splendid book has not met with the reception which it deserved in his country, partly, no doubt, because of the language in which it is written. Even among those of Dutch extraction few have become acquainted with this work which is undoubtedly the most important contribution yet made to the history of the Hollanders in Michigan. Five years after its appearance J. A. Wormser produced his biography of Dr. Van Raalte. For the steps leading up to the emigration in 1846,

³Cf. *Early Settlement of Holland*, by G. Van Schelven, in *Historical and Business Compendium of Ottawa County, Michigan*, Vol. I, Grand Haven (Pitt and Conger), 1892 or 1893, pp. 15-35; *Michigan and the Holland Immigration of 1847*, in *Michigan Magazine of History*, Lansing, October, 1917, pp. 72-98; *Historical Sketch of Holland City and Colony*, in *History of Ottawa County, Michigan, with Illustrations and Biographical Sketches of some of its Prominent Men and Pioneers*, Chicago (H. R. Page & Co.), 1882, pp. 77-78; *Historical Sketch of Holland City and Colony*, delivered on the Fourth of July of the Centennial Year, 1876, in *De Grondwet*, Holland, Michigan, 1, 8 and 15 June, 1915; *Documents bearing upon the Ecclesiastical Union*, in *De Grondwet*, Holland, Michigan, 21 July, 1914.

⁴*Levensbeschrijving van wijlen Prof. A. Brummelkamp, Hoogleraar aan de Theologische School te Kampen door zijn jongsten zoon A. Brummelkamp*, Kampen (J. H. Kok), 1910.

⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 200-274.

however, the author depended mainly upon Dr. Brummelkamp's work. This book has also received but little notice in this country.⁶

Notwithstanding this perennial interest in the subject, no systematic exploitation of all materials in this country and in Holland has yet been made.⁷ There are accordingly numerous points upon which more information is needed and even some parts of the story which are practically unknown. Chief among these lacunae are the plans and preparations for emigration during 1846 which in the fall of that year started an exodus to Western Michigan that has never ceased. It is the purpose of this article to trace these events in the light of such data as the writer has been able to bring together.

THE DOCUMENTS

The materials which must provide the facts for such an account have been preserved in manuscript in an account book 5½ inches wide and 13½ inches long. This book was the property of the Rev. Antonie Brummelkamp and upon his death passed into the possession of his son.⁸ On the outside of the cover there are written in Van Raalte's handwriting

⁶*In twee merelddeelen. Het leven van Albertus Christiaan Van Raalte geschetst door J. A. Wormser, in Een schat in sarden vaten, in De "Afscheiding" in levensbeschrijvingen geschetst door J. A. Wormser, eerste serie, deel I, Nijverdal (E. J. Bosch Jbzn.), 1915.*

⁷A dissertation by Miss A. Pieters dealing with the early history of the Dutch immigration from 1847 to about 1860 is in progress.—Letter of Miss Aleida Pieters, Milwaukee, 30 May, 1921. Professor Henry J. Ryskamp of Calvin College, Grand Rapids, Michigan, has begun a similar study of the movement after 1856.

⁸Dr. Brummelkamp died 15 January, 1919.—Cf. "In memoriam", in *Jaarboek ten dienste van de gereformeerde kerken in Nederland, 1920. Onder redactie van de predikanten G. Doekes en J. C. Rullmann, vierde jaargang, Goes, (Oosterbaan en le Cointre), pp. 309-313.* This book is at present the property of Mrs. A. Brummelkamp of The Hague. Through her great kindness I was not only allowed to study its contents but also to take it with me to this country.

the words "Landverhuizing Memoriaal, 1846—". This volume contains a variety of documents some of which, however, are only of minor importance for the purpose of this article.

The first of these, which may for the sake of convenience be designated as No. 1, contains one of the earliest sets of rules designed to guide the emigrants in their journey to and settlement in the United States. It is written on four folio pages of pale blue paper and appears to have been transmitted through the mail from the fact that it has traces of having been folded several times. It is from the hand of the sheriff's officer, J. A. Wormser, who lived in the Pijlsteeg in Amsterdam. This fact is abundantly proved by an examination of the letters written by him to the noted statesman Guillaume Groen Van Prinsterer whose correspondence is preserved in part at least in the National Archives in The Hague.

The next three documents (Nos. 2, 3 and 4) are all in the handwriting of the Rev. A. C. Van Raalte. No. 2 contains twenty folio pages and bears the title "Sketches for a Plan of Colonization in the United States of America,"¹⁰ Nos. 3 and 4 apparently were drawn up after No. 2 had been discarded. The corrections in No. 3 are all in the handwriting of the Rev. A. Brummelkamp. No. 4 is a copy of No. 3 with all the corrections and improvements inserted and is written on nine folio sheets of white paper. The first page bears the title "Rules of the Society of Christians for the Holland Emigration to the United States of North America."¹¹

⁹"Emigration Memorial, 1846—".

¹⁰"Schetsen voor een ontwerp van Kolonisatie in de Vereenigde Staten van Noord Amerika."

¹¹"Grondslagen der Vereeniging van Christenen voor de Hollandsche Volksverhuizing naar de Vereenigde Staten in N. Amerika."

The remaining document which may be referred to as No. 5 is of supreme importance for our study. Really it is a permanent copy of No. 4 in Van Raalte's beautiful handwriting and fills fifteen folio pages. The first six have already been printed by Dr. Brummelkamp in the biography of his father.¹² However it is so important that it was deemed desirable to have it reprinted as Appendix No. 1 at the end of this article and provided with a parallel translation.¹³ The last nine pages with the exception of the first three paragraphs which were also printed by Dr. Brummelkamp have likewise been placed in their entirety at the end of this article.¹⁴

The book also contains a variety of documents on loose pages of varying sizes. One is a letter dated the Saturday after Easter (13 April), 1846, from the Rev. O. Heldring, the well-known philanthropist, to the Rev. Brummelkamp regarding the rules of which the latter had sent him a copy. The others concern the matter of emigration, plans, expenses, routes, receipts, accounts, etc., some of which are hardly intelligible. Two of these, however, are important enough to merit a place in the appendix. The first contains a statement of expenses for passage and provisions necessary on the voyage.¹⁵ The second contains some addresses, information concerning the exchange rate and the routes which might be taken.¹⁶ The last document printed in the appendix is a letter from Van Raalte, dated 21 September, 1846, to his

¹²*Levensbeschrijving van wijlen Prof. A. Brummelkamp, Hoogleraar aan de Theologische School te Kampen*, pp. 205-209.

¹³See "Rules for the Society," etc.

¹⁴Appendix II. (Not here published.—Ed.)

¹⁵Appendix III. (Not here published.—Ed.)

¹⁶Appendix IV. (Not here published.—Ed.)

friend, the noted statesman and historian, Guillaume Groen Van Prinsterer. While not found in the "Emigration memorial" it is important enough to demand a place there not only because it reflects the feeling of the writer upon the eve of his departure from Arnhem but also because it throws some light upon the disputed question of the name of the ship.¹⁷

THE EMIGRATION OF 1846

The movement in favor of emigration to the United States was the result of certain social, economic, ecclesiastical and other conditions which developed during the decade or more preceding 1846. Dissatisfaction with the organization of the Reformed Church as it was finally constituted in 1815 and 1816 led to a schism of a part which called itself the "Afgescheidenen" or the "Seceders." The legal position in which these people thereupon found themselves was exceedingly trying because the government persisted in treating their meetings as unlawful and even attempted to suppress them in accordance with articles 291, 292 and 294 of the Napoleonic penal code. Another cause of discontent was the inability to educate their children in their own Christian schools. Largely recruited from the lower classes, its members felt the pressure of unfavorable economic conditions. The heavy national debt occasioned by the late war with the Belgians and other conditions had led to more increased taxation which bore heavily upon this class. In addition to these there were the successive failures

¹⁷Appendix V. (Not here published.—Ed.)

of the potato crop which entailed so much hardship upon the working classes of parts of Germany, Belgium, Holland and Ireland.¹⁸

Under these circumstances it apparently needed only a suggestion to stimulate a desire to emigrate. The movement was quite sporadic at first.¹⁹ But as the months of 1846 wore on the tendency to leave the motherland became more and more pronounced. On 15 May the Rev. H. P. Scholte who was to lead the Hollanders to Iowa in the following year wrote to his friend, Guillaume Groen Van Prinsterer, that many Christians, not only of the poor, but also many of the better to do, were considering the advisability to emigrate to the United States.²⁰

In December the total number of those who were thought ready to leave was estimated at 6,000. The liberal opposition to the government even announced a new paper under the title *The Emigration* to appear at Amsterdam on 19 December.²¹ It was to agitate the desirability of leaving the country and assume a general hostility towards the conservative government.²² From Gelderland, especially from Varseveld and Winterswijk, it seems, some parties had already left for the United States and settled in the middle

¹⁸A general survey of these causes will be made in a study of the beginnings of Dutch immigration to Iowa from 1847 to 1860, which I have in preparation.

¹⁹Cf. the case of Vroegop who is said to have come to America in 1845.—Article by C. Van Loo, *De stichter van Zeeland, Jannes Van Den Luijster, in Historical Souvenir of the Celebration of the Sixtieth Anniversary of the Colonization of the Hollanders in Western Michigan. Held in Zeeland, Michigan, August 21, 1907. Published by order of the Executive Committee [Zeeland], 1908, p. 65. Of the supposed description of his travels, etc., I have been unable to find any trace.—Ibid. For the case of A. De Bree from Oudelande, Province of Zeeland, cf. *ibid.* For the Ernessee family in Rochester, New York, in 1843, a Cappon at Pultneyville in the 30's, and a De Kruif at about the same time, all from Zeeland, cf. *De Volks-vriend*, Orange City, Iowa, 29 September, 1904. In 1845 A. Hartgerink, a school-master in Neede, left for this country.—J. A. Wormser, *In twee werelddelen. Het leven van Albertus Christiaan Van Raalte*, p. 106.*

²⁰Letter, written from Utrecht, preserved in the Correspondence of G. Groen Van Prinsterer in the National Archives (Rijks Archief) in The Hague.

²¹*De Landverhuizing*.

²²Cf. the letter of J. A. Wormser to G. Groen Van Prinsterer, dated Amsterdam, 19 December.—*Brieven van J. A. Wormser medegedeeld door Mr. Groen Van Prinsterer. Eerste deel (1842-1852). Uitgegeven door de Vereniging ter bevordering van Christelijke lectuur*, Amsterdam (Höveker en Zoon), 1874, p. 91.

west. These had maintained connections with friends and relatives at home, many of whom were later directly or indirectly concerned with Van Raalte's plans.²³ Also in Friesland there was genuine interest in the matter. On 28 October a committee appointed by those who proposed to emigrate conferred with Rev. Scholte in Utrecht. Many were said to be anxious to leave.²⁴ In the province of Zeeland also there was discussion of the matter. This likewise centered in the same circles as elsewhere. The congregation of the "Seceded" at Goes appears to have weighed the matter, and, following the decision of its foremost member, Jannes Van Den Luyster, many prepared to leave.²⁵ Even among the Catholics on the poor lands of Noord Brabant a large number were ready to follow the steps of Father Van Den Broek in order to found a settlement in Wisconsin.²⁶

Some parties were not in favor of forsaking Netherlandish territory and advised against the proposed

²³Cf. "Rules for the Society, etc." A. Hallerdijk and Looman from Winterswijk had left Hellevoet in April, 1845. The former was in Vandalia, Illinois, in May, 1846, and in June in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, where there were a number of other families from Gelderland.—A. C. Van Raalte en A. Brummelkamp, *Landverhuizing, of waarom bevorderen wij de volksverhuizing naar Noord-Amerika en niet naar Java?* Derde druk, Amsterdam (Hoogkamer en Compe.), 1846, pp. 37, 40-41. A. G. J. Meink and others, also from Winterswijk, arrived in Milwaukee as early as May, 1845.—*Ibid.*, p. 42. There was a J. A. Beukenhorst in Decatur, Illinois, on 16 June, 1845. He had come by way of New Orleans.—*Ibid.*, p. 44. A. Hartgerink from Neede, near Zutphen was in Toledo, Ohio, on 3 May, 1846.—*Ibid.*, pp. 47-53. On 25 August, 1846, Hallerdijk and nine other families were reported to be living in Milwaukee.—*Stemmen uit Noord Amerika met begeleidend woord van A. Brummelkamp, bedienaar des goddelijken Woords*, Te Amsterdam (Hoogkamer en Compe.), 1847, p. 33. At Waupun, Wisconsin, several parties with a number from Dinperloo and Winterswijk had made their homes by this time. Their names are Beest, Boland, and Rensinck.—*Ibid.*, p. 59. Cf. also A. Brummelkamp, *Levensbeschrijving*, p. 202. The emigration from this part of Gelderland was perhaps greater than from any other part of Holland. The Seceders had a church in Winterswijk since 1843. About five years later about two-thirds were reported as having emigrated to the United States.—A. J. Van der Aa, *Aardrijkskundig woordenboek der Nederlanden*, deel XII, Gorinchem 1849, p. 514.

²⁴Letter of H. P. Scholte, dated Utrecht, 29 October to G. Groen Van Prinsterer, *National Archives*, The Hague.

²⁵Cf. C. Van Loo, *De stichter van Zeeland, Jannes Van Den Luyster*, in *Historical Souvenir of the Celebration of the Sixtieth Anniversary of the Colonization of the Hollanders in Western Michigan*, p. 65. A series of rules was at once drawn up.—*Reglement der Zeeuwseche Vereeniging ter Verhuizing naar de Vereenigde Staten van Noord-Amerika (Met een woord aan den lezer)*, Te Goes (bij De Wed. C. W. de Jonge), 1847.

²⁶*De Reformatie*, Serie III, Deel III, Utrecht, 1847, p. 339.

emigration. Chief among these who had intimate connections with the classes which wished to leave the country was Otto G. Heldring. This active philanthropist had studied conditions in the Dutch East Indies and now proposed that the emigration should be directed thither, especially to the islands of Java, Ceram, Ubi or Borneo.²⁷ Van Raalte and Brummelkamp were apparently never much interested in this proposal, probably because of the favorable reports they already had from America. Scholte, however, made some attempt to secure the approval of the Minister of Colonies, but was repulsed.²⁸

So crying was the need for relief that any procrastination now appeared impossible to these men. Many poor folk in Gelderland were without work or bread although anxious to do anything to gain a livelihood.²⁹ The potato, which was the main article of diet with them, was practically a failure during 1845. In September it was reported that of the 79,477 *bunders* planted, 65,516 were diseased.³⁰ This calamity created consternation. There were slight disorders in The Hague, Haarlem and Delft among the classes who saw no means to provide themselves with food.³¹ Dire predictions of famine appear to have

²⁷O. G. Heldring, *Leven en Arbeid*, Leiden (E. J. Brill), 1886, p. 131.

²⁸Cf. *ibid.*, and his letter to G. G. Van Prinsterer, dated Utrecht, 15 May, 1846. —Correspondence of the latter in the National Archives in The Hague. Cf. also *Landverhuizing, of waarom bevorderen wij de volks-verhuizing naar Noord-Amerika en niet naar Java?* Derde druk, Amsterdam (Hoogkamer en Compe.), 1846, pp. 23-24, 35. There was also some sentiment in favor of Dutch Guiana in South America and South Africa.—*De Reformatie*, Serie III, Deel III, Utrecht, 1847, pp. 18, 27. Cf. also O. G. Heldring, *De Christen werkman als zendeling*, Amsterdam (H. Hoveker), 1847.

²⁹Cf. letter of H. P. Scholte to G. Groen Van Prinsterer, dated Utrecht, 15 May. —*National Archives*, The Hague.

³⁰S. Vissering, *Eenige opmerkingen ter zake der aardappelziekte*, Amsterdam (P. N. Van Kampen), 1845, p. 13. These figures do not contain returns for Utrecht, Groningen and some parts of Noord Brabant.

³¹*'s-Gravenhage, Haarlem, Delft. Een blik op de wanordelijkheden aldaar gepleegd, met een toespraak aan den goeuden burger, een woord aan den gemeene man, eene bede aan de regering*, Gorinchem (J. Noordwijn en Zoon), 1845.

been common.³² The congregation at Arnhem had difficulty enough to help its poor. The consistory repeatedly discussed the problem of relief.³³ On 11 September it was decided to take measures to lay in a food supply for the poor in view of the serious shortage in the country.³⁴ The most varied efforts were made to help the needy.³⁵

As in other places the congregations of Arnhem, Velp and Oosterbeek also began to plan an organization which would give intelligent direction to the constantly growing desire to emigrate. Numerous individuals were interested in this particular project. J. A. Wormser of Amsterdam presented a proposed constitution which has already been mentioned. According to this document, the object of the society was to direct the emigration of Netherlandish Christians to North America (art. 1). The document contains sixteen articles and was a tentative or suggestive basis of organization. This would seem to be confirmed by the fact that wherever sums of money or numbers of people are to be stipulated the space was left vacant to be filled in upon maturer deliberation (art. 2, 3 and 7). All persons who intended to emigrate, who were at least twenty years of age and possessed of at least a hundred florins, could become

³²William Van Houten, *Bemoediging. Een hartelijk woord aan mijne landgenooten, ten einde hen gerust te stellen tegen roekeloze voorspellingen van hongersnood, ten gevolge van het mislukken van den aardappelooft*, Tweede druk, Rotterdam (M. Wijt en Zonen), 1845.

³³Cf. e. g. the minutes of 22 January, 1845, Art. 10, 11; 5 February, Art. 6; 25 February, 1845, Art. 4; 21 April, Art. 4; 30 April, Art. 4; 3 June, Art. 6, 7, and 9; 23 June, Art. 2; 4 August, Art. 3. On 15 August it was decided by the consistory at the instigation of Van Raalte and Brummelkamp to set aside 26 August as a special day of prayer and fasting.—*Ibid.*, Art. 3. These minutes were placed at my command through the obliging kindness of the Rev. J. G. Kunst at present one of the pastors of the same congregation which Van Raalte served.

³⁴*Ibid.*, 11 September, Art. 5.

³⁵Thus on 6 November it was decided to provide them with cabbage, beans, rye and clothing.—*Ibid.*, Art. 6, 7. Cf. also the resolutions of 11 December, Art. 3-7; 22 December, Art. 4-5; 1 January, 1846, Art. 3; 26 February, Art. 5; 21 May, Art. 3 and 30 July, Art. 4. On 20 August the consistory could not find the means with which to pay Van Raalte for his services.—*Ibid.*, Art. 7. On 22 October poverty occasioned by lack of opportunity to work, was again discussed.—*Ibid.*, Art. 8.

members (art. 2). When the society had attained a certain membership, a majority should choose a directing board of five members from among the members or others not connected with the society (art. 3). This board was to receive moneys from intending purchasers, and was to buy the land (art. 4) as soon as a sufficient number had signified their purpose to emigrate (art. 5). It was to appoint a committee to purchase land, secure deeds and provide for homes (art. 6). Significant is the emphasis placed upon the Christian character of everybody connected with the movement. The board was to be composed of God-fearing men (art. 3), as also the committee (art. 6), and no one could become a member unless he could present proof of Christian conduct (art. 2). As soon as a certain number had settled in America, the society was to send over a God-fearing minister and a schoolmaster, who was to be able to give instruction in both English and Holland, whose salaries were to be determined by the board in Holland (art. 7). The colonists as they were called were to control their own school, church and other activities (art. 8). For this purpose the members were to pay five per cent. of the amount of money they had to invest (art. 10). Articles 11, 12, and 13 are only concerned with the immediate problem which lay at the root of much of the emigration agitation, namely poverty. Wormser's ideal was to found a community in America where Christians possessed of some means would have an unhampered opportunity to regulate their own secular life in accordance with the ordinances of God. The poor, to be sure, came in for a share; this was to be part of their Christian duty. The board was to appeal to Christians in the Netherlands to make donations in order to

further the emigration of "God-fearing though destitute and poor" people (art. 11). With these gifts the board was to send overseas from time to time such people and provide them with a small piece of land among the other immigrants (art. 12). This was to be made possible by appeals to the public for funds (art. 13). Account was to be sent within five years after each party had emigrated (art. 15), and, should there be some residue of cash, the committee was required to hand the same over to the church and school organizations which had been organized (art. 16).³⁶

The plan appears workable enough and vouches for the good sense and judgment of a business man like Wormser. But it did not fit the needs of the class which was in imperative need of assistance and had to emigrate. It is accordingly not strange that these plans were not accepted by the pastors of the Arnhem congregation who were nearer the people and who knew their needs better. Van Raalte and Brummelkamp now drew up another body of rules more adapted to their purpose. Several plans were drawn up, (1) to "provide the founders and other Christians an opportunity to lead a pious and honorable life in those regions, to enjoy the utmost religious freedom and conditions under which they may be able to bring up and educate their children unhampered in the fear of the Lord" and (2) "to aid needy people who are more and more bowed down under the oppressive burdens of the times, work and food." These are the introductory words of the first plan but they express the same motives as the others that were drawn up immediately afterward.³⁷

³⁶Landverhuizing Memorial, 1846-.

³⁷*Ibid.*

It was planned to have a general meeting of all those who were interested in the project. These would at that time be divided into two classes of members, the *direct*, i. e., those who were prepared to leave the motherland, and the *indirect*, i. e., those who were not ready to leave but were nevertheless to lend the emigrants support. Each class or division would then appoint a committee of ten members. To the committee of the first division was entrusted the general direction of the emigrating members. Minute instructions were to be given them. They were to secure lands in the United States about forty degrees north latitude, where the climate was temperate. These lands were under no circumstances to be located within the slave districts, and were to be suitable for the homes of Christians who would be able to develop agriculture, cattle raising and general industry. This committee was also ordered to gather information on many points which might prove useful to the emigrants. The committee of the second division in the motherland was to send out from time to time such "able, thrifty, though needy, workmen and farmers" as the colony might need, give information concerning the colony which had been furnished them in the first place by the first committee, purchase and send such materials as the colonists might find necessary and support the wives and children of the emigrants that had been sent on ahead. Before these committees were to take up their activities actively a third and a temporary one was to be formed. This was to proceed to the United States at the expense of the society as soon as plans had progressed enough to purchase land and such other things as the emigrants might need. They were also to acquaint the President of the United

States with the immigration project, its purpose and its causes, and invoke his protection over "a young colony the largest and most important part to be composed of Christians who could be regarded as an asset for the United States because of their industry." Upon their return the emigration could then make a formal beginning under the direction of the first and second committees.³⁸

It appears that this plan was at once subjected to a thorough revision. Many of its features were retained in the next draft (document No. 4). Noticeable among its defects was the absence of financial clauses, and no statement is made regarding the source of the moneys. The new draft was hastily written by Van Raalte, and then radically revised. The corrections were added in the margin by Brummelkamp, and a definitive copy made by Van Raalte (document No. 4). The idea of two committees was retained, one for the colony and one for the motherland. Membership was open to all men over twenty, without any regard to their financial standing (art. 2). General meetings were to be held twice a year, and each committee was to inform the other immediately of the proceedings (art. 3). The tone of the document is thoroughly Christian (art. 3, 6, 7 and 13). In order to care for the spiritual welfare of these emigrants who knew no English and were ignorant of American customs it was desirable to keep them together. In this way they would also surmount all economic difficulties, and by buying land collectively they could prevent the intrusion of strangers who might operate to the detriment of the original purpose of the society (art. 9). It was to be financed by gifts from indi-

³⁸*Ibid.*

viduals and churches who desired to aid the poor or by the investments of people who wished to secure lands either for speculation or their own use. Furthermore all voting members were required to work two days a year for the benefit of the Colony on its lands (art. 10). These moneys were to be spent in buying land, helping the needy to emigrate, supporting the widows and orphans, and to provide for the intellectual and spiritual well being of the colonists (art. 13). The society was to publish the causes which contributed to bring about the emigration. The idea of a third committee was not entirely dropped. It was proposed to send over a number of needy farmers and workmen in May, who would be able to make a livelihood by their labor. They were to go to Wisconsin and Illinois where a few families in Gelderland had located a year or two before, after which they would meet at Milwaukee to compare notes and transmit to the society a full report of their findings (art. 16).³⁹ A limited number of those who were interested in the project met at the home of Deacon Donner during the early days of April and accepted it.⁴⁰

This definitive form of the constitution was generally found acceptable although there was some preference shown for the Dutch Indies. Its clauses were again read in a meeting of many sympathizers from the congregations in Velp, Oosterbeek, Genemuiden in Overijssel and elsewhere who had come for that purpose to Brummelkamp's home in Arnhem on the 15th. After a general discussion and explanation of its provisions it was unanimously accepted. Brummelkamp thereupon subscribed 1000 florins, Van Raalte

³⁹*Ibid.*⁴⁰*Appendix II.* (Not here published.—Ed.)

1846

25-11 In kas gestort door D^r H. van Raalte president
te Arnhem de Som van vyftienhonderd guldens, zijnde
het gekende bedrag zijner vrijwillige inkomming 500 00

27-11 In kas gestort door D^r H. Brummelhuis president
te Arnhem de Som van dertienhonderd guldens
zijnde ~~het gekende bedrag~~ het bedrag zijner vrijwillige inkomming 1000 00

28-11 Naar Dirk Arnold van beroep schrijver te Arnhem
te Arnhem, lid der Christelijke afscheidingssamenleving, was
gekocht de Som van drie honderd dertienhonderd guldens
aan een met hem gedaan naar de twee kinderen van H. van
Raalte overstaande. Van welke Som H. van Raalte heeft
bekentend aan H. Brummelhuis en van Raalte heeft
afgegeven, vermeldzaam ook tot verandering van kapitaal
in transit 333 00

29-11 Naar Willem Klinkenberg van beroep vrees
wonder te Arnhem, lid der Christelijke afscheidingssamenleving
gemeente, Arnhem de overleving. Het gekochte de
Som van dertienhonderd dertienhonderd guldens
volgens een opzegel als boven bekendene Som
bekentend 346 00

Op den achttienentwintigsten des Maatschappij is het zijnde
de vereniging al der naam: Amersfoort overgevoerd. Het
welk schiedwerck 30 jaar oud is en zijne naam: Amersfoort
30 jaar en haren kinderen dertien, dertienhonderd, en 30 jaar
het, alsmede Willem Klinkenberg, van 30 jaar en 30 jaar
van Neeltje Brancyntje Brand, 30 jaar en haren kinderen
dertien 30 jaar, dertienhonderd, het, en dertienhonderd, en dertien
schiedwerck 30 jaar van Jakob Anne Amersfoort 30 jaar
en 30 jaar Amersfoort dertienhonderd, de welke dertienhonderd
lijkt afscheidingssamenleving, zijnde de 18. Boekst en dertienhonderd
naar de 18. Boekst en dertienhonderd en dertienhonderd
aan.

500 florins and John Bennekant, 100 florins. The meeting was then concluded with the singing of psalms and prayer.⁴¹ Almost two weeks after this, 28 April, another meeting was held at the home of Deacon Donner to hear a report of many Hollanders who were lukewarm in supporting the emigration to the United States, and who deemed it advisable to go to the East Indies.⁴² These people were apparently of the same opinion as O. G. Heldring who preferred Java or even Port Natal.⁴³ Their proposals, however, were barren of any direct result, unless it was to withdraw some support from the project.

Shortly after this they decided to commence. On 14 May another meeting was held at the home of Deacon Donner. Van Raalte and Brummelkamp proposed to begin by sending a few needy families to the coast cities of the United States. Arrived at their destination they would earn some money and gradually work their way westward. In this way Dirk Arnoud and Willem Kwinkelenberg and their families were chosen to be the first to go.⁴⁴ On 27 May Van Raalte and Brummelkamp paid their subscriptions⁴⁵ and 333 florins were at once loaned to Dirk Arnoud and 386 florins to Willem Kwinkelenberg, for which each was bound to furnish satisfactory promises of repayment.⁴⁶ On the morning of 28 May they met with a large number of the members in the church, and after singing the beautiful 121st psalm and invoking divine

⁴¹*Ibid.*

⁴²*Ibid.*

⁴³In his letter from Hemmen, dated Saturday after Easter (13 April), 1846, he stated "Mijn lievelings gedachte was Java. . . . Ik zoude zelf Port Natal gekozen hebben boven Noord Amerika".—*Letter* in the *Landverhuizing Memoriaal* 1846—.

⁴⁴Arnoud's poverty was discussed in a meeting of the consistory on 21 May.—*Cf. minutes*, 21 May, Art. 3.

⁴⁵*Appendix II.* (Not here published.—Ed.)

⁴⁶*Ibid.*

blessing, they were accompanied to the steamboat which was to take them to Rotterdam from whence they were to proceed to Philadelphia.⁴⁷ They carried a letter dated 25 May, 1846, at Arnhem, and signed by Van Raalte and A. Brummelkamp which recommended them "to the Believers in the United States of North America."⁴⁸ Upon their arrival in this country this letter fell into the hands of the Rev. Isaac Wyckoff, pastor of the First Reformed Church of Albany, through whom it was translated and inserted in *The Christian Intelligencer*.⁴⁹ Eight days later, on 4 June, a number of men were sent out to act as investigators of the society. They were S. R. Sleijter,⁵⁰ deacon of the church in Velp, Rademaker, elder of the church at Varseveld and the Brusse brothers of the same church who were accompanied by a number of other men, women and children. They also met in the church in Arnhem, and were accompanied to the ship which carried them to the port from whence they took passage in the "Barrington" to Boston.⁵¹ The society continued its activities unabated during the summer months. Several parties were sent such as the gunsmith Van Gurnster, Berends, the tailor, L. Liesveld, shoemaker, F. Smith, a smith from Hattem in the Province of Gelderland, and J. Binnekamt.⁵² Money

⁴⁷*Ibid.*

⁴⁸"Aan de Geloovigen in de Vereenigde Staten van Noord Amerika", which was printed by A. Brummelkamp and A. C. Van Raalte in *Landverhuizing*, pp. 30-39. The Arnoud family arrived at Boston 21 July.—Cf. their letter in *Stemmen uit Noord Amerika met begeleidend woord van A. Brummelkamp, Bedienaar des goddelijken woords*, Te Amsterdam (Hoogkamer en Compe.), 1847, p. 35. For another letter written by them 30 December, 1846, from Boston, cf. *ibid.*, pp. 93-96.

⁴⁹*The Christian Intelligencer*, New York, 15 October, 1846. A supplementary note states that it was translated by a "Mrs. S., a member of Dr. Wijkoff's church in Albany, who emigrated from Holland a short time since."

⁵⁰S. R. Sleijter was in Waupun, Wisconsin, on 25 August, 1846, where he had settled.—Cf. his letter in *Stemmen uit Noord Amerika met begeleidend Woord*, pp. 53-59.

⁵¹*Appendix II.* (Not here published.—Ed.)

⁵²*Ibid.*

was also received from various parties as e. g., 200 florins from Ter Vree who lived in Zwolle, Dr. Weerd and his family and friends in Nieuw Leusden, in the Province of Utrecht, 1000 florins, S. Nibbelink from Arnhem, 500 florins. These all wished to receive land from the society.⁵³ Information concerning passage and things needed on the voyage was also collected. This is evident from a few detached pieces of paper on which there are various notes concerning this matter. On one of these we find the following facts: Passage from Rotterdam (Hellevoetsluis) to New York was 35 florins for those above 12, below that age, 30 florins. There was no charge for infants of one year. This price included fuel, fresh water, room for preparing meals in the kitchen and sleeping space. Beds and straw ticks were to be provided by the passengers. Food could also be procured on board ship. Each passenger required 25 pounds ship bread or biscuits, 2½ fine meal, 2½ rice, 2 butter, 10 dried beef or pork, 25 dried fruit, or 100 potatoes and a quantity of vinegar. This could be procured on shipboard for 21 florins, which included the use of cooking utensils.⁵⁴ Information was also solicited from a German concern, for we have a similar list printed in German. What the charges for these services on this boat were is not given.⁵⁵

Useful facts were also collected which might be of help on their journey after arrival in New York. On another separate sheet in Van Raalte's handwriting is a list of names of individuals of Dutch extraction who might be interested in the proposed emigration.

⁵³*Ibid.*

⁵⁴*Appendix III.* (Not here published.—Ed.)

⁵⁵"Landverhuizing Memoriaal 1846-."

The first in the list is the esteemed Rev. Isaac N. Wyckoff, minister of the First Reformed Church in Albany,⁵⁶ who was later to be of great service to Van Raalte and his followers. Other names are E. Ten Voorden, merchant of Pittsburg, I. D. Ten Voorden of Evansville, Indiana, H. Schulekamp, a farmer near Pittsburg, G. Weibering, a merchant in Pittsburg, and a widow named Semmelink who also lived in Pittsburg. At the foot of this list are a few notes regarding the means of travel westward by rail or canal from Baltimore to Pittsburg.⁵⁷ At this time one plan of travel apparently was by this route.

When everything was ready for departure Van Raalte's financial and other affairs were brought in order. On Sunday morning, 20 September, he preached his farewell sermon at Velp and in the evening before the congregation at Arnhem. His text on this occasion was the first part of verse 4, chapter VII, of the First Epistle of John. On Monday morning his financial concerns were brought in order. The sums deposited with the society by Jan Binnekant, Ter Vree, De Weerd and Nibbelink were entrusted to him. To this sum were added 500 florins to be expended for the benefit of the colonial treasury. Three days later Brummelkamp deposited another 500 florins with which land was to be purchased in the colony for his own use, and this was also given to Van Raalte.⁵⁸ On the same morning the Arnhem congregation approved his request for dismissal which was accordingly granted by the consistory on the ground that his presence was necessary among the Hollanders who

⁵⁶Cf. E. T. Corwin, *A Manual of the Reformed Church in America, 1682-1902*, 4th edition, New York, 1902, pp. 922-924.

⁵⁷Appendix IV. (Not here published.—Ed.)

⁵⁸Appendix II. (Not here published.—Ed.)

had already emigrated in order that they might have the proper spiritual care in a strange land and not be scattered. In a general meeting, held at the same time apparently, Brummelkamp thanked Van Raalte in the name of the congregation for all his services and recommended him to God's care. On Tuesday morning, 22 September, a large part of the congregation accompanied him and his band to the boat. Rev. Brummelkamp went with them to Rotterdam from where passage was taken in the "Southerner" for New York.⁵⁹

Every attempt made thus far to secure an official or an authoritative list of the people in this company has failed. In 21 September Van Raalte wrote to his friend Guillaume Groen Van Prinsterer from Arnhem concerning the motives of the emigration. While the letter does not contain any particulars, it is nevertheless important as it gives us an idea of the feelings which filled his heart upon the eve of his departure. In a postscript Van Raalte requested addresses and recommendations from Groen and informed him that his address for 23 and 24 September would be: "Messrs. Hudig and Blokhuizen, a shiploading firm at Rotterdam where the ship the 'Santherner' is being loaded and with which I hope to depart on the 25th."⁶⁰ With this as a clue I made an effort to find the papers of this firm which is still in existence, but under the new name "Hudig and Veder." I was, however, informed that a short time ago all the papers for these years had been destroyed.⁶¹ A fully authoritative

⁵⁹*Ibid.*

⁶⁰Appendix V. (Not here published.—Ed.)

⁶¹Letter from W. C. Hudig to Jonkheer Reuchlin, late director of the Holland America Line, dated Rotterdam, 6 January, 1920. To these parties and to Mr. W. L. Schumacher of Leiden I must here express my thanks for their personal interest in this matter.

list of names of Van Raalte's band was thus impossible and we must accordingly be satisfied with what tradition and the pioneer accounts have given us. Perhaps the best of these is furnished by the accounts of Egbert Frederiks who was one of the founders of the Dutch colony and wrote his reminiscences apparently in 1881.⁶² Another and a fuller list is offered by Mr. Van Schelven who arrived somewhat later.⁶³

The name of the ship was in all probability the "Southerner." Dr. H. E. Dosker was of the opinion in 1893 that it was "The Sultane," the name given in *The Christian Intelligencer* of 3 December, 1846. This name, he thought, had been given by Van Raalte himself to the party responsible for the article.⁶⁴ But in view of the fact that Van Raalte mentioned the ship as the "Santherner" in the postscript of his letter to Groen Van Prinsterer on 21 September,⁶⁵ and that Brummelkamp who accompanied the band to Rotterdam and undoubtedly saw them depart⁶⁶ called it the "Southerner" in the *Memoriaal*, the probability is perhaps in favor of the latter. Van Raalte himself was but very imperfectly acquainted with the English language and may have erred. The report, furthermore, may not have come from him at all for Van Raalte at once left for Albany and Buffalo after his

⁶²Cf. R. T. Kulper, *Uit de Portefeuille van Twee der Eerste Settlers in de Nederlandsche Kolonie in Michigan*. Medegedeeld door Egbert Frederiks te Graafschap, in *Jaarboekje voor de Hollandsche Christelijke Gereformeerde Kerk in Noord Amerika voor het Jaar 1882*, Grand Rapids, Michigan, (D. J. Doornink) 1881, pp. 61-75.

⁶³For this list, which the author claims to be complete, cf. *Historical Sketch of Holland City and Colony, Delivered on the Fourth of July of the Centennial year 1876*, in *De Grondwet*, 1 June, 1915.

⁶⁴H. E. Dosker, *Levenschets Van Rev. A. C. Van Raalte, D. D.*, pp. 67-68. The news item in question reads, "The Rev. A. C. Van Raalte of Arnhem in Holland, with his family and emigrants to the number of a hundred souls, adults and children, reached here by the 'Sultana' from Rotterdam, on Wednesday, the 18th of November. They left for Wisconsin the next day, by the way of Buffalo and the lakes, being fearful to make any delays on account of the closing of navigation being at hand. They expect some to join them this winter by the way of New Orleans. Mr. Van Raalte is one of the signers of the 'Appeal to the Faithful in America,' a translation of which was published in the *Intelligencer*."—*The Christian Intelligencer*, 3 December, 1846.

⁶⁵Appendix V. (Not here published.—Ed.)

⁶⁶Appendix II. (Not here published.—Ed.)

arrival in New York on 18 November,⁶⁷ and not until at least two weeks later did the item appear in the *Christian Intelligencer*.

Some statement should also be made at this point regarding the traditional organization of Van Raalte's followers as a church. Local tradition in Western Michigan represents this as having taken place in The Netherlands. I have been told repeatedly by pioneers of Ottawa and Allegan counties that this was the case. The official proceedings, however, of the Arnhem consistory would seem to make this story impossible. On 22 October, the day after Van Raalte's departure, the matter was brought up for discussion whether the emigrants should be given their church letters. It was decided that this could not lawfully be refused and that they should be given as it had previously been done in the case of Van Gumster and VanDerWal.⁶⁸ There was thus hardly sufficient time left before the departure to go through the regular procedure of organization, and in fact no record of any such action can be found. The letters were granted to the emigrants as particular members only, exactly as had been done in the case of the few who had departed previously as individuals. The organization undoubtedly occurred after the settlement in Ottawa County.⁶⁹

A careful study of the way the Dutch immigrants governed their affairs during the early months of their

⁶⁷H. E. Dosker, *Levenschets van Rev. A. C. Van Raalte*, p. 68.

⁶⁸"Wordt gesproken over het afgeven van kerkelijke attestaten aan degenen welke naar N. Amerika vertrekken en besloten dezelve niet te weigeren maar af te geven zooals naar Waarheid behoort gedaan te worden, en zooals deze bereids geschied is, en afgegeven zijn aan Van Gumster en Vander Wal, waar van Broeder Otto door Ds. Brummelkamp die van Vander Wal ter overschrijving aangeboden worat."—Art. 6.

⁶⁹It was impossible for me to look up the matter further by investigating the local records of the Ninth Street Church, in Holland, Michigan. The *Jaarboekje ten dienste der Christelijke Gereformeerde Kerk in Noord Amerika, acht-en-dertigste jaargang* (1918), p. 21, gives the date as 1849 which would certainly seem too late.

settlement at Holland, Michigan, would assuredly reveal a very close relationship to the constitution or "Grondslagen" which had been drawn up at Arnhem in the spring of 1846.⁷⁰ Many meetings (volksvergaderingen) were held in which matters of general concern to the colony were discussed and decided. At first glance these might be assumed to be a realization of the plan expressed in art. 5 of the constitution and providing for periodical meetings of the members of the society. But such an interpretation would be quite unwarranted. The peculiar circumstances under which the project had been conceived produced a remarkably homogeneous type of immigrants. In accordance with their ideals of life and to meet the new and trying exigencies of a frontier existence in a strange society they naturally tended to live in a way more or less like that outlined in the "Constitution." These rules cannot accordingly be regarded as constituting in any way the basis of their association during the first months of their settlement, but rather as an ideal purpose cherished by these humble folk to which Van Raalte sought to give the best possible expression. As far as the committee of those interested in The Netherlands is concerned there is, it seems, no record of any meeting whatever after Van Raalte left Rotterdam. However, it should be noted that up to the date of his departure from Arnhem, Van Raalte apparently regarded the rules binding upon himself and his company. This would seem to be proved by the fact that he stated in his own handwriting in the "Memoriaal" that he was taking 500 florins with him for the benefit of the colonial treasury and that during

⁷⁰See "Rules for the Society, etc."

the fortnight before several parties had deposited sums for the purchase of lands to be made by the colony.⁷¹ From this moment it is safe to say that the emigrants were held together by their common interests rather than by the constitution.

The financial part of the movement now appears to have become practically a personal matter with Van Raalte and Brummelkamp as these assumed responsibility for all sums contributed to further the emigration. On 27 May they had together contributed 1500 florins, while only 10 florins had been given by an unnamed party.⁷² Accordingly, when Dirk Arnoud and William Kwinkelenberg with their families were about to leave, they gave promissory notes bearing interest in favor of Van Raalte and Brummelkamp.⁷³ No statement is made with regard to the repayment of the 70 florins paid to the gunsmith Van Gumster in order to satisfy his creditors before going to America.⁷⁴ On 26 August, three days later, however, 225 florins were granted to the tailor Berends and family, J. Liesveld, the shoemaker, and F. Smit and his family upon the condition that they should repay the principal with five per cent. interest as soon as they had earned enough money.⁷⁵ As the day determined upon for the departure of Van Raalte and his followers drew near, further sums were deposited in the treasury of the society. On 6 September Jan Binnekant gave 190 florins, on the 14th Ter Vree from Zwolle gave 200 florins and De Weerd with his friends 1000 florins and on the 21st S. Nibbelink deposited 500 florins, all of which were to be used in pur-

⁷¹Appendix II. (Not here published.—Ed.)

⁷²*Ibid.*

⁷³*Ibid.*

⁷⁴*Ibid.*

⁷⁵*Ibid.*

chasing land in the proposed colony.⁷⁶ By this date a total of 3410.00 florins were deposited in the society's treasury. On the 21st Van Raalte took with him the sums paid by Binnekant, Ter Vree, De Weerd and his friends and Nibbelink and 500 florins extra for the benefit of the colonial treasury.⁷⁷ This left a balance of 298.55 florins in the treasury. Apparently at the very last moment before departure Brummelkamp gave his brother-in-law 500 florins more for the purpose of buying land in the proposed colony. Upon his return to Arnhem he recorded this fact in his own handwriting.⁷⁸ The chief reason, perhaps, why so few people left for America under the auspices of this society was that in the provinces outside Gelderland special companies under the leadership of local pastors made independent plans and began to leave during the following year. Thus the Rev. M. Ypma came with a band from Friesland, the Rev. S. Bolks from Overijssel and the Rev. J. Van Der Meulen and Jannes Van Den Luyster from Zeeland. A discussion of these movements, however, lies beyond the scope of this article. Most of the people in Van Raalte's company undoubtedly paid their own expenses. There were few so poor, it seems, that when they had disposed of their effects they could not pay their own passage.

During the spring of the following year several parties were provided with considerable sums with which to pay their voyage expenses, amounting to 1193 florins. As no moneys were deposited in the treasury after Van Raalte's departure, it would seem that Brummelkamp himself advanced these sums.⁷⁹

⁷⁶*Ibid.*

⁷⁷*Ibid.*

⁷⁸*Ibid.*

⁷⁹*Ibid.*

In 1848 the first repayment appears to have been made. Berends, who had received 50 florins from the treasury on 26 August, 1846, repaid this amount on 23 March. From the account it would appear that no interest was paid.⁸⁰ On 7 September what seems to be the last financial help extended was a sum of 120 florins to Antje Bosboom,⁸¹ which makes a grand total of 1213 florins paid out since September, 1846, or 914.45 florins more than the treasury contained at that moment. It would seem that Brummelkamp advanced since that time from his own resources 1414.45 florins. Adding the amount of his original contribution made on 27 May, 1846,⁸² it will be found that Brummelkamp advanced in all 2414.45 florins. Van Raalte undoubtedly settled accounts with Binnekant, Ter Vree, S. Nibbelink and De Weerd *cum suis* in this country. This of course left Brummelkamp as the only party interested in the account. The reimbursement of the various loans was accordingly made, not to the treasury of the society, but to Brummelkamp.

Only gradually and never completely, it would seem, were these loans repaid. The family of the widow Liesveld returned 200 florins on 16 March, 1849, and 145 more in November. At this time 25 florins were also paid to the creditor by a third party who had some connection with an inheritance acquired by the debtors. In May, 1851, another payment of 25 florins was made. The total thus returned was 395 out of a debt of 413.50 florins. Whether Brummelkamp ever received the balance and the interest we have

⁸⁰*Ibid.*

⁸¹*Ibid.*

⁸²*Ibid.*

no way of knowing.⁸³ During this same year Brummelkamp repaid a sum of 200 florins which had been deposited with him by the brother-in-law of a certain Streng in July, 1847, for sending the father of Dirk Arnoud. It had been planned that when Streng should arrive in New York the Arnoud family should repay this amount to him. But Arnoud did not go and the sum had now to be returned.⁸⁴ The last payment to be recorded occurred in 1866. Frans Smit, who had received 150 florins on 26 August, 1846, now paid through Rev. Van Raalte, who was visiting The Netherlands in the summer of that year, \$25.00. Whether this sum represented a balance still unpaid cannot be determined. So unstable was the foreign exchange that Brummelkamp realized only 42.60 where the normal value should have been 62.50 florins.⁸⁵ At this time Van Raalte gave him 1000 more. A few years prior to this the land purchased by Van Raalte for his brother-in-law shortly after his arrival in Michigan, had been sold. Van Raalte had proposed to use this sum at seven per cent. interest which was agreed upon. But so unfavorable was the exchange rate in this summer that Van Raalte found it difficult to pay this interest and proposed that his brother-in-law cancel this amount. Brummelkamp magnanimously acceded to this proposition.⁸⁶ If all repayments were recorded by Brummelkamp, which can hardly be assumed with justice, the latter received only 1459.00 out of an original expenditure of 2414.00 florins. He thus appears to have lost 955 florins, not to mention the interest which apparently was never

⁸³*Ibid.*

⁸⁴*Ibid.*

⁸⁵*Ibid.*

⁸⁶*Ibid.*

paid on nearly all of his financial advances. From this discussion it is no doubt sufficiently clear that the colonial treasury provided for by the "Grondslagen" never was really in existence and that the financial matters were regarded by Van Raalte and Brummelkamp as a personal account in which the latter was most heavily interested.

The story of how Van Raalte and his followers fared in this country and the reasons which induced them to prefer the Black Lake region in Ottawa County to Wisconsin and Iowa properly belongs to the next phase of the movement which falls outside the limits of this brief study. Let us hope that a full adequate account of this may soon be furnished.

RULES FOR THE SOCIETY OF CHRISTIANS FOR THE
HOLLAND EMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES
OF NORTH AMERICA

Revised
- 674

ART. 1

All emigrants or supporters of these emigrants and inhabitants of the Colony are members of the Society. All male members of twenty years and over have the right to vote.

ART. 2

The management rests in the hands of two committees, one in the motherland and the other in the colony, and each to be composed of ten members. The committee in the motherland shall be chosen by the voting members of the society, and the one in the colony by the male inhabitants of the same who are twenty years and above. Vacancies shall be filled in the same manner. Each committee shall have executive powers where it shall be located, although no change in the general rules or principles can be made except with the approval of a majority of at least two-thirds of the members of the whole society both in the motherland and in America.

ART. 3

The committees shall discharge their duties out of love toward God and the brethren. Accordingly no compensation shall be allowed them. In so far as the discharge of such duties shall necessitate compensation, they shall be allowed to appoint, at the expense of the treasury, bookkeepers to keep account.

ART. 4

In case of difference of opinion the matter in question shall be decided by a majority of not less than two-thirds of the members present.

ART. 5

A general meeting shall be held twice in each year, on the second Wednesday of May and of November. The committee shall meet as often as the circumstances may demand, and they shall send each other a complete report of the state of affairs as regularly as possible.

ART. 6

The committee shall not have any secular control nor exercise any ecclesiastical authority inasmuch as the latter must be exercised by the community in accordance with God's Word while the first lies in the hands of the government of the United States.

ART. 7

The first calling is to make the colony christian, wherefore it is recommended to the care of the committees which are to be concerned with accepting, aiding and sending emigrants, to seek such salting element for the colony as shall be necessary to give it a majority christian element. For that reason they shall not accept any other persons for colonisation than those from whom it may be expected that they will be obedient to the Word of God, so that in that way there may be established not only a Christian church government, but also a christian government for the protection of God's command, which is the strength of every state.

ART. 8

Those who have been accepted as members of the colony, although they may not be able to contribute anything towards paying the expenses of the passage, first settlement, etc., shall nevertheless remain absolutely free citizens, subject to no other burdens than the rest of the inhabitants. To pay the expenses incurred by them, one-fifth of all incomes or profits, whatever they may be, of their lands shall be set aside until the principal and the interest (5 per cent.) of the moneys advanced shall be paid. Not until then shall they be able to enter into full possession of any property.

ART. 9

In order that the difficulties, the dangers and expense of purchasing lands shall not overwhelm each emigrant, and that scattering may be prevented and the introduction of strangers be hindered, the purchase of lands shall be made in the name of the society. These lands shall in turn be transmitted to the citizens of the Colony by deed, signed by the double committee in the name of the society for the exact original price plus the expenses incurred by the purchase. This perpetual obligation which is expressed in the deed of sale shall be assumed only when each inhabitant of these lands who has the right to vote shall work or have some one work for him gratis two days each year for the benefit of the fund of Holland emigration to America. The time when this is to be done shall be stipulated by the American committee.

ART. 10

The moneys accrue from:

- a Gifts from individuals.
- b From communities and individuals who wish to have their poor participate in the colonisation.
- c The duty of each inhabitant voter of the colony to work two days a year or have some one do so for him on the lands of the colony for the benefit of the treasury.
- d Payment of debts.

- e Advances made out of love or personal interest by such as may receive land from the committee.

ART. 11

Contributions shall be made on the basis of percentage and in accordance with the needs of the treasury.

ART. 12

Those who have advanced money can receive its equivalent in land or in cash installments, but this latter only in so far as the condition of the treasury will allow. For such advances not more than 5 per cent shall be paid to be computed from day of deposit. Nor shall the payment of the interest be obligatory until the condition of the treasury permit it, in which matter the committee shall pass judgment. As soon as this can be done they shall be required to pay all such arrears of interest at compound interest. Payment of such moneys on a percentage basis shall be permitted.

ART. 13

Moneys can be spent only as follows:

- a For the purchase of lands.
- b To send and aid such as are in need of help.
- c For the needs of widows and orphans.
- d For the benefit of the intellectual interests of the colony.
- e For the advancement of the interests of God's kingdom on earth.

However not for the three last named purposes before all duties towards those who have provided capital shall have been discharged.

ART. 14

Accounts shall be kept both in the colony and in the motherland. Each half year both committees shall inform each other of the particulars of their administration so that these facts may be entered in one book in the motherland as well as

in the colony. Each year, in the first half of the month of May, account must be rendered before all participants not only in the motherland but also in the colony.

ART. 15

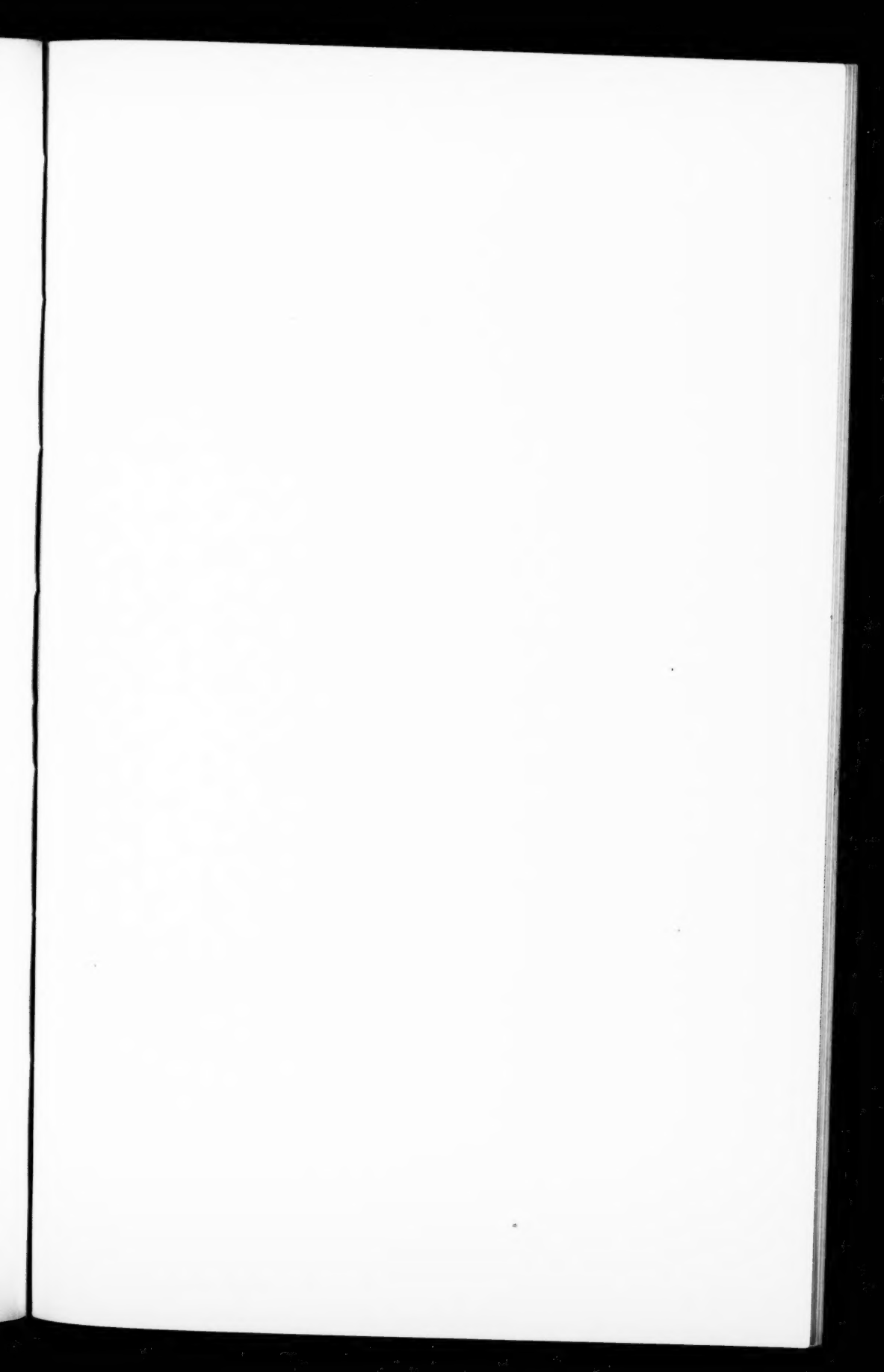
For the dissolution of the society at least three-fourths the votes of the members of the entire society shall be necessary. In this case the rights of those who have invested capital shall first be satisfied and the remaining moneys shall be expended for the advancing the interests of God's Kingdom on earth.

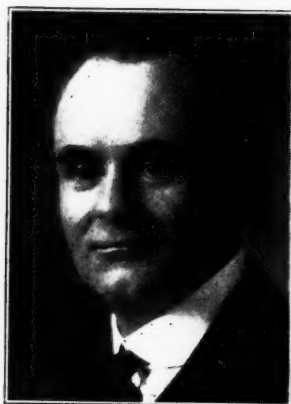
ART. 16

The occupation of the society from this moment onward shall be:

- a Publication of the cause and purpose of its formation in such manner and place as may be deemed proper in order to impart concentration and a careful direction to the manifest desire to emigrate.
- b To this end it is to give information to all that may wish it. It is to provide those who want to emigrate with land and necessary papers. It is also to arrange for the passage, and as soon as possible a regular passage each quarter of the year.
- c Preliminary to founding a colony a few farmers and laborers who can earn their bread there with their hands shall be sent over in the following May to Wisconsin and Illinois and their expenses, incurred in the interests of the society, shall be paid by the treasury. These will unite with some families from Gelderland who have gone thither a year or two ago in order to take advantage of the knowledge already acquired by them and live there two years and investigate. Thereafter they shall meet at Milwaukee in Wisconsin in order to inform the committee in the motherland the results of their investigations concerning the opportunity of purchase and the fertility and general features of the land. They shall do this by letter or by a rep-

representative. After this representatives with full powers shall be sent in accordance with the condition of the treasury and the demand for land to purchase a quantity sufficient for founding a community or a village upon the account of the committee which shall then have been formed and also to make the first preparations to receive emigrants.





R. A. SMITH
1919—

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE GEOLOGICAL AND
BIOLOGICAL SURVEY OF MICHIGAN: 1837
to 1872, BY R. C. ALLEN; 1872 to
1920, BY HELEN M. MARTIN.

THE Geological Survey of Michigan is almost as old as the State itself. It was established in 1837 by Act No. 20 of the first Legislature. The first Survey was terminated in 1845 by the untimely death of Dr. Douglass Houghton, the State Geologist. In 1859, the legislature provided for its continuance but the outbreak of the Civil War interrupted the work in 1861; it was resumed in 1869¹ soon after the close of the war.

THE FIRST GEOLOGICAL SURVEY 1837-1845

For the earliest organized statements concerning the geology of Michigan we are indebted to Dr. Douglass Houghton and his assistants. Such explorations as were made prior to 1837 were purely geographic although some disconnected observations on rocks, minerals and soils were noted even in the accounts of the travels of the Jesuits. The explorations conducted by Alexander McKenzie in 1789, General Cass in 1819, Major Long in 1823, and H. R. Schoolcraft in 1831² should be mentioned. The accounts of these travels are rich in descriptions of the country on the routes of travel which, however, were confined to the water ways and in Michigan mainly to the coast of the Northern Peninsula.

A proper appreciation of the work of the first Survey should view it in relation to the condition of

¹Act No. 206, Public Acts, 1859.

²Act No. 65, Public Acts of 1869.

³Dr. Douglass Houghton accompanied Schoolcraft as physician and botanist to the expedition to the sources of the Mississippi River. An interesting account of this expedition has recently come into the keeping of the Michigan Historical Commission in the form of Houghton's original notes kept in diary form.

the country, the state of advancement of the natural sciences and the general regard in which they were held by the people. In 1837 there were less than 24,000 people of European descent in Michigan. These were mainly in Detroit and the sparsely settled counties south of the Grand and Saginaw rivers, a few settlements along the coast as at the Soo and Mackinac, and isolated groups of huts occupied by traders and trappers. The coast was only roughly charted, the northern two-thirds of the State was an unsurveyed wilderness including all of the Northern Peninsula and practically nothing was known of its interior into which very few white men had ever penetrated. Michigan was viewed generally in the East at that time as an unhealthy land of alternating muskeg swamps and sand hills and the Northern Peninsula was thought to be fit only for the habitation of savages. The Geological Survey was created for the purpose, among others, to act as an agency through which these damaging false beliefs could be effectively laid at rest, for Michigan was suffering a loss of good settlers in consequence of them.

Geology had not then become, as now, a common branch of instruction in schools and colleges. The literature of the subject was meagre and not in general circulation among the people. Its principles were generally unknown even among the more learned elements of the population. Even the educators of those days as a class had slight regard for the natural sciences, believing that a study of the classics and mathematics is alone requisite to a liberal education. But geology especially was viewed in active hostility by a large element of the academicians and the clergy. The former denied not only its value as an applied science but its

cultural value as well, while the latter interpreted its teachings as contrary to revealed truth and therefore in contravention of the tenets of religion.

It is therefore noteworthy and interesting that the first of the departments of the State government to be created by statute was the Geological Survey. This is a fine testimonial to the courageous intelligence of the first Legislature. But the Survey is not to be viewed as an entirely spontaneous work of the law makers, for the history of those years makes clear that Dr. Douglass Houghton is not only responsible for the idea and plan but it was also through his personal influence on the individual members that the Legislature became willing to commit the people to the undertaking.

The history of science, like political history, is founded in the lives of individuals. Now and then men emerge in bold relief on the background formed by their contemporaries. Such a man was Douglass Houghton, the first State Geologist of Michigan.⁴ He died an untimely death by drowning in Lake Superior in 1845, aged only 36 years.

Houghton was one of Michigan's great pioneers and most devoted public servants. He combined the skill and learning of the physician and scientist with marked business ability, executive capacity and political sense. He was a fine writer and probably the intellectual peer of his day in the West. As a geologist he was little known outside of Michigan, which is unfortunate for his memory. He has left enough of his writings to warrant the belief that, had he lived to publish his complete report on the geology of Michigan,

⁴For a biography of Houghton consult: A Memoir of Douglass Houghton, 1889, Alvah Bradish.

he would have taken rank with the foremost geologists of his time.

Although the organization of the first State Surveys of Massachusetts (1830), Tennessee (1831), Maryland (1834), New Jersey, Connecticut, Virginia (1835), Maine, New York, Ohio, and Pennsylvania (1836), preceded that of Michigan by from one to seven years, their results were as yet only meagerly available and were therefore of little aid to Dr. Houghton in planning for the labors which opened before him in the wilds of Michigan. It is an interesting fact, as well as an evidence of Houghton's genius, that as early as 1838⁵ the Survey had been organized on the plan that in the main essentials exists today in Michigan and in a number of other States. This plan provided for geological, topographical, zoological, and botanical departments, each in charge of a specialist under the direction of the State Geologist. The departments of botany and zoology did not survive the second year of their organization, on account of straightened finances and the hostility of the Legislature to labors which promised no early practical benefit to the material progress of the State; they were abolished in 1840 by legislative enactment⁶ over the strong but futile protests of Dr. Houghton.⁷

The law of 1837 contemplated the completion of the survey in four years, but it was soon apparent that a long time would be necessary for even a cursory examination of the entire State. Nevertheless a large part of the field work was actually accomplished in 1842 and the funds which were thereafter expended

⁵Act 49, Public Acts of 1838.

⁶Sec. 1, Act 40, Public Acts of 1840.

⁷See Communication from the State Geologist Relative to the Geological Survey, March 7, 1839, Senate Document No. 25, 1839.

were drawn from the unexpended balance,⁸ not including small sums devoted to engraving. The incompleteness of the U. S. linear surveys which were then in progress in Michigan also contributed to delay the work, for Houghton depended on these surveys for skeleton maps of the townships on which to plat the physiographic and geologic features of the country.

In fact, Dr. Houghton conceived the idea of enlisting the land surveyors themselves in the service of the geological survey, and "derived the idea of accomplishing a thorough geological, mineralogical, topographical, and magnetic survey of the new lands of the United States contemporaneously with the government surveys." As the act making provisions for the State Geological Survey expired in 1842 leaving still a large territory in the Upper Peninsula unexplored, Dr. Houghton set about effecting a plan which he had previously conceived of connecting the linear surveys with the minute geological and mineralogical survey of the country. In 1844 he laid his plan before the government. Its feasibility was at once comprehended, and Houghton was given a contract of running 4,000 miles of lines at a price but little, if any, exceeding that which would have been paid for a linear survey alone.⁹

The system was abandoned after his death, but enough had been done to show that had the system remained in operation to the completion of the surveys we should have been possessed of information which was acquired several decades later, with vastly greater expense and labor.

⁸The actual expenditures of the Houghton Survey from 1837 to and including 1845 were only \$32,829.03.

⁹Memoir of Douglass Houghton by Bela Hubbard, *American Journal of Science*, Vol. 55, p. 221, 1848.

The published results of Houghton's Survey appear in seven annual reports to the Legislature and a number of short communications relative to the development of salt springs and other subjects. The final report was well along towards completion when it was interrupted by the death of Dr. Houghton. The state topographer immediately impressed upon the Legislature the importance of entrusting the completion and editing of the final report to Dr. Houghton's chief assistants. The Legislature responded¹⁰ by authorizing the Governor to appoint a suitable person, but no appropriation was made to defray his expenses and remuneration. Whether the appointment was or was not made we do not know, but it is certain that the work was not done, and a vast collection of notes, sketches, maps, and manuscript, representing eight years of unremitting toil by Houghton and his assistants, was lost.¹¹

Just how much had been accomplished is not known, but it is evident from the fragmental reports in the documents of the House and Senate of the Michigan Legislature that Houghton had attained a fairly clear understanding of the succession and structure of the Paleozoic (*secondary*) rocks, had blocked out the Michigan Coal Basin, understood in a measure the later history of the Great Lakes and had traced the position of some of their former shore lines, had called

¹⁰Joint Resolution No. 26, 1846.

¹¹In the Annual Report of the State Geologist, 1861, Dr. A. N. Winchell reports that "on the decease of Dr. Houghton his administrators employed Messrs. William A. Burt and Bela Hubbard to complete reports on the geological results of the work for 1845 from the field notes of that year. Mr. Burt's report was prepared from his own notes and Mr. Hubbard's from those of Dr. Houghton. These two reports unfold in an admirable manner the geological studies of the trap and metamorphic regions of Lake Superior, and anticipate results which were afterwards worked out by the United States Geologists. The notes and maps of three townships were in Dr. Houghton's possession at the time of his death and were never recovered." These reports were not published but the materials were doubtless incorporated in Jackson's report of 1849-50. (Senate Documents, 31st Congress, 1st Session, Vol. 3, No. 1.)

attention to the importance of the deposits of natural brines,¹² gypsum, coal, peat, marl, clay, limestone, iron ore, and copper, and had discovered gold. The influence of his report on the copper bearing rocks was a factor in not only attracting capital to the copper country and exercising a wise guidance on early prospecting and financial operations, but in hastening the construction of the first canal and locks around the falls of St. Mary's River.

Little more than a year after the suspension of the Survey under Dr. Houghton Congress passed an act, approved March 1, 1847, embracing provisions for the geological exploration of the Lake Superior Land District, organized by the same act. Under this act Dr. C. T. Jackson was appointed by the Secretary of the Treasury to execute the required survey.

After having spent two seasons in the prosecution of this work he presented a report of 801 pages¹³ and resigned his commission. In the meantime the survey was continued and subsequently completed by Messrs. Foster and Whitney."¹⁴

Some of the assistants of Dr. Houghton were employed by Jackson, Foster and Whitney and Houghton's results were made use of in other ways to such an extent that a large part of the credit rightfully belongs to him although no proper acknowledgment of it is made by these geologists.

¹²The United States Government ceded to Michigan 76 sections of land for the development of salt springs. Houghton was placed in charge of the borings begun by the State. Wells were sunk at Grand Rapids and on the Tittabawassee River in Midland County.

¹³Senate Documents, 1st Session, 31st Congress, Vol. 3, 1849-50.

¹⁴Report on the Geology and Topography, the Lake Superior land district: part 1. Copper Lands by J. W. Foster and J. D. Whitney, Executive Documents, 1st Session, 31st Congress, 1849-50, Vol. 9, No. 69. Report on the geology and topography of the Lake Superior land district, part 2. The Iron Region by J. W. Foster and J. D. Whitney. Senate Documents, Special Session, 32nd Congress, 1851, Vol. 3, No. 4.

SECOND GEOLOGICAL SURVEY 1859-1863

The second geological survey was inaugurated in 1859, during the administration of Governor Wisner.¹⁵ It was suspended in 1863 from failure of the Legislature to make an appropriation for its continuance.¹⁶ The act is almost identical with the original act of 1837. It authorized the Governor to appoint a competent person and other necessary assistants to finish the geological survey of the State and furnish "a full scientific description of its rocks, soils, and minerals and of its botanical and other natural productions."

Dr. Alexander Winchell, who was then professor of geology in the University, was appointed State Geologist March 9, 1859. On December 31, 1860, he made a report to the Governor which was printed in 1861 under the title "First Biennial Report of the Progress of the Geological Survey of Michigan." This is the only publication of the second geological survey. It is unaccompanied by maps, sketches, or other illustrations which rendered it less useful than it would otherwise have been.¹⁷ Dr. Winchell sketches the history of previous geological work in Michigan and gives a full account of his activities and those of his assistants. He gives the only orderly and connected general account of the geology of the State which had ever been made. The non-fossiliferous rocks, which include those of the Northern Peninsula west of a line connecting Marquette and Menominee, are, however, dismissed with a brief statement based on the work of other geologists but the fossiliferous rocks underlying

¹⁵Public Acts of 1859. No. 206.

¹⁶The total appropriations for the second geological survey, 1859-63, were \$9,000.00 of which only \$6,000.00 was drawn from the treasury.

¹⁷The Legislature apparently disapproved the emphasis laid on the botanical and zoological investigations which were accounted for in this report for in 1861 it directed the state geologist to "restrict his labors to the geological department exclusively." Act No. 64, Public Acts of 1861.

the remainder of the State are described in considerable detail and compared with similar formations in other States but more especially with those of New York where the work of James Hall and others had developed a succession which had become and still remains in some degree, a standard of reference. Dr. Winchell made large collections of fossils most of which were deposited in the University museum. The chapter devoted to economic geology is interesting,—although it is lacking in statistical matter,—in that it indicates the progress of the non-metallic mineral industry in the Southern Peninsula since Houghton's time. Part II contains a catalog of the plants, mammals, birds, reptiles, and molluscs of the Southern Peninsula.

The second geological survey made a long stride in the study of the geology of the Southern Peninsula. When it is considered that the work was practically abandoned a little more than two years after it was started, that the appropriations were small, and that the time which Dr. Winchell was able to devote to it was limited by his professional duties in the University, it is not surprising that the published results are not more voluminous.

The second geological survey was definitely terminated by joint resolution of the Senate and House approved March 7, 1863,¹⁸ directing Professor Winchell, "the late State Geologist, to transfer to the Board of State Auditors all of the property of the Survey including the specimens not already distributed to the educational institutions as provided by law and to deliver to the Auditor General a schedule of all instruments, property and materials used in the survey belonging to the State."

¹⁸Joint Resolution No. 10; Session of 1863.

THE THIRD GEOLOGICAL SURVEY, 1869—.

By the year 1869 a strong public demand had arisen for a resumption of the geological survey and Governor Baldwin made the following recommendation in his message to the Legislature:

"I submit to you the importance of providing a thorough and complete geological survey of the State. Many years ago, in our early history, this work was partially prosecuted by the late Dr. Douglass Houghton, whose sudden death put a stop to this important work. Small appropriations were subsequently made, but no general survey has been effected. The developments made by the very partial work hitherto done, have many times repaid the comparatively small expenditure. But what is needed, is a thorough and comprehensive examination of the whole State.

"Great and varied as are its present resources, we know as yet but little of the hidden mysteries which lie developed within its borders."

In due course a bill was introduced in the House by Mr. Yawkey after which the matter was taken under advice by a joint committee of the House and Senate.¹⁹ The report of this committee reviewed the previous geological work in Michigan and the legislation concerning it including references to other States and made the following recommendation:

"A period of twenty-eight years of general growth, prosperity and development has been allowed to pass, and the richest mineral territory in iron and copper in the world has been left wholly unaided by State appropriations in the development of its gigantic possibilities. Is it any wonder that the enterprising

¹⁹Lyman D. Norris, Chairman Senate Committee; John Q. McKernan, Chairman House Committee.

people of that far away region, who have accomplished so much with such little means, grow restless in a connection that brings them no share of the public money derived from a common taxation, that has been profusely scattered over the lower half of the State, in the shape of Prisons, Reform Schools, Insane, Deaf, Dumb, and Blind Asylums, Normal School, Agricultural College, University, geological surveys and internal improvements, and all the thousand and one ways that those nearest to the public treasury reach for its contents?

"In the meanwhile, those hardy pioneers have labored and waited, until now, with a population of near 35,000, a capital invested in 112 companies for developing copper of \$16,250,500, upon which has been paid dividends of \$5,880,000, and an iron interest which, in the twelfth year of its commercial life, produced over one-fifth of all the iron mined in the United States, they have rights, and the State has duties—long neglected duties—toward them, which it were wise to no longer neglect.

"Your committee are of opinion that the State is fully able, and ought to be willing, to enter now upon an enlarged and liberal geological survey of both peninsulas; that if but one can be undertaken, the Lake Superior country is entitled to the preference; and that the survey there, in addition to the duties usually assigned to such officials, should also include the statistics and history of the mineral, mining, smelting, manufacturing, and transportation interests; the compilation of accurate maps, showing the topography, geology and timber, and the position of all mines, furnaces and roads of the iron and copper region.

Your committee would further note the fact that within the limits of the proposed survey the State owns a large amount of swamp and school land, reserved from market on account of its supposed mineral value, the determination of which value is a matter of common interest to all the people, while the United States are also holders of large tracts of supposed mineral land, whose value is wholly unknown, as much of the data given by Foster and Whitney, near twenty years ago, is shown by private examination to have been erroneous and imperfect.

"The Legislature have had their attention called by Prof. Winchell in his address, among other matters, to the history of neighboring state legislation, and asking your earnest and thoughtful attention to that address, they content themselves by presenting to you the accompanying bill and joint resolution, unanimously recommending their passage, and ask to be discharged from the further consideration of this interesting subject."

The bill embodying the recommendations of the committee was promptly passed and was approved by the Governor on March 26, 1869.²⁰ It created the Board of Geological Survey, an ex-officio body consisting of the Governor, Superintendent of Public Instruction, and President of the State Board of Education. The Board was authorized to appoint "a suitable person possessed of the requisite knowledge of the science of geology who shall be the Director of the Survey" and at the nomination of the Director such assistants as were necessary, to fix the salaries of the Director and his assistants, and in general to "regulate all expenses incident to the Survey."

²⁰Act No. 65, Public Acts of 1869.

The Director was charged with all of the responsibility for the scientific and administrative work of "a thorough geological and mineralogical survey of the State, embracing a determination of the succession, arrangement, thickness, and position of all strata and rocks; the mineral character and contents, and their economical uses; an investigation and determination of the organic remains of the State; a general examination of the topography, hydrography, and physical geography of the State; an investigation of the soils and subsoils, and the determination of their character and agricultural adaptation; the investigation of all deposits of brine, coal, marl, clay, gypsum, lime, petroleum, metals, and metallic ores, building stone, marble, grit stone, materials for mortar and cement, mineral paint, and all other productions of the geological world capable of being converted into the uses of man."

The act provided a continuing annual appropriation of \$8,000, and directed that one-half of the expenditure be devoted to work in the Northern Peninsula including "the collection of statistics and history of the mineral, manufacturing, and transportation interests; to the preparation and compilation of accurate maps, showing the topography, geology, and timber, and also the position of mines, roads, and improvements; to the determination of the position and structure of the minerals and mineral rocks; to compiling and collecting all useful knowledge that would be of practical value in finding and extracting ores, and mining and smelting in those districts of the Upper Peninsula known as the iron and copper regions."

A joint resolution²¹ of the House and Senate was passed instructing the Michigan Senators and Representatives to ask Congress to appropriate annually for three years \$8,000, to assist in making the survey, but the request proved futile and no appropriation was made by Congress.

It is worthy of note that the act of 1869 made no provision for zoological and botanical investigations as did those of 1837 and 1859.

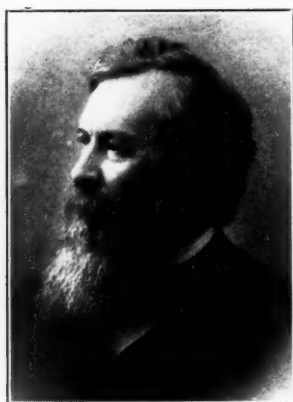
DR. ALEXANDER WINCHELL—APRIL 24, 1869—APRIL 17, 1871

The act of 1869 became effective on March 26 and on April 24 Dr. Alexander Winchell was for the second time appointed Director of the Survey at a meeting of the Board held in the offices of the Governor at Detroit.²²

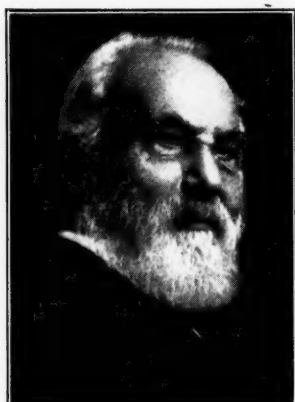
During the eight years that had elapsed since the termination of the second Survey, Dr. Winchell had been "mainly engaged, so far as strictly geological work was concerned, in elaborating its paleontological results and in special surveys of the limited districts with special reference to their economic resources. Thus he became familiar with the geological conditions of the salt and petroleum rocks of Michigan, Ohio, and Canada, on which he made special studies. In respect to the salt-bearing strata of Michigan he established the basin-shaped form of the strata, and defined not only the principles but also the geographic area in which brine might be found. His chief geological problem, however, during this interim was the estab-

²¹Joint Resolution No. 27, Public Acts of 1869.

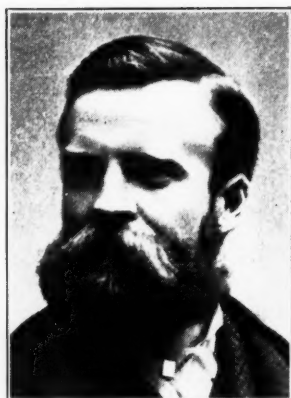
²²The first Board of Geological Survey were H. P. Baldwin, Governor, Oramel Hosford, Supt. of Public Instruction, and Witter I. Bascher, Pres. of the State Board of Education.



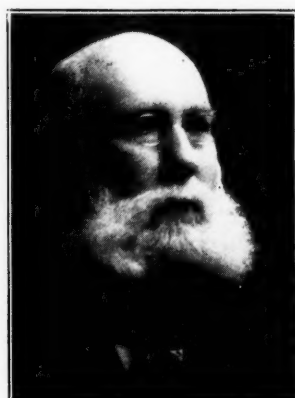
ALEXANDER WINCHELL
1859-1863, 1869-1871



CARL ROMINGER
1872-1885



CHARLES E. WRIGHT
1885-1888



M. E. WADSWORTH
1888-1893

lishment and defense of the "Marshall Group".....²³

Dr. Winchell's second administration of the Geological Survey was destined to be, like the first, short lived. What were the exact causes which led to his resignation is not known. His brother states that they were of a political nature. But whatever they may have been it is evident from the minutes of the meetings of the Board that in 1871, during the meeting of the Legislature, serious disagreements arose concerning the scope and management of the Survey and that Dr. Winchell could not be reconciled to the decisions of the Board. Dr. Winchell had presented a report of progress in November 1870²⁴ together with a plan for the completion and publication of the results of the survey to which the Board apparently dissented. The history of the work during the next two decades is the demonstration of the unwisdom of the failure to carry out the Director's plans which were very comprehensive and complete. The turning away of Dr. Winchell from a work on which he had set his heart and mind was not only unfair to him but a very great loss to the State. The accomplishments of Winchell's second administration of the Survey are well told in his own words:

"It was understood to be clearly the intention of the law, that the moiety assigned to the Upper Peninsula should be expended in the development of the iron and copper interests of that portion of the State. The adoption of an equitable and judicious plan for the prosecution of this portion of the work was felt by the Board and by the Director to involve a serious responsibility, and very full and candid consideration

²³Memorial sketch of Alexander Winchell. Nathaniel Winchell—Bull. Geol. Soc. Am., Vol. 3, 1891.

²⁴Report of Progress of the Geological Survey. Alexander Winchell, 1871. 64 pp. 8 vo.

was given to the subject. Finally, in view of the magnitude of the work which ought to be performed in each of the metalliferous regions of the Upper Peninsula, and in view of the limited amount of means at the disposal of the Board, it was decided not to extend the work in each region over the entire two years which should intervene before another session of the Legislature, but to devote the entire annual moiety to the iron interest in 1869, and to the copper interest in 1870.

"Accordingly, a contract was signed with Major T. B. Brooks, by which he was required to complete a survey and report of the 'Marquette Iron District,' in accordance with a 'Letter of Instructions' from the Director (hereto appended, marked A), and for which he was to receive, in installments, the sum of \$4,000. A similar contract was signed the following year, with Prof. R. J. Pumpelly, by which he was required to conclude such portion of the survey of the Copper Region as could be accomplished with the desired degree of unity and completeness for the other \$4,000. The work of Major Brooks began June 4, 1869; and such has been his laudable ambition to produce a result not only adequate to the requirements of the contract, but as complete and creditable as possible to all concerned, that he has actually continued his labors to this date, and intends to prolong them into the next year. He has been assisted by John N. Armstrong, draftsman, C. M. Ross, mining engineer, and S. M. Walker, engineer. He makes acknowledgments also to sundry engineers and others, for valuable assistance which will be mentioned in detail in the final report. The work of Prof. Pumpelly began June 1, 1870, and will be continued until brought to a conclusion which

can be guaranteed as satisfactory. He has been assisted by A. R. Marvin, mining engineer, and by L. G. Emerson. He acknowledges also the cordial cooperation of the inhabitants of the Upper Peninsula.

"Both of the gentlemen placed in charge of the work in the Upper Peninsula, besides possessing the advantages of a thorough scientific education, had had extensive experience in geological investigations in the United States (and Prof. Pumpelly also in foreign countries), and had already expended three or more years in the geological investigations of the metaliferous regions of the Upper Peninsula.

"Under these arrangements, the entire expense of the general direction of the work, and of the general investigations, was devolved upon the moiety of the appropriation assigned to the Lower Peninsula. The same fund has also borne the expense of all field work in the Upper Peninsula which has not properly belonged to the survey of the Iron and Copper districts, as already specified. Under the appropriation for the Lower Peninsula, Prof. N. H. Winchell was appointed a permanent assistant; and Prof. M. W. Harrington of the University, Prof. E. A. Strong of Grand Rapids, Mr. A. S. Wadsworth of Traverse City, C. B. Headley of East Saginaw, A. O. Currier of Grand Rapids, and J. H. Emerton of Salem, Mass., have been under engagement for specific periods. Henry S. Cluff of Grand Haven has generously acted as a volunteer in an important work for which we have not found means to guarantee a compensation; and in other voluntary labors not strictly provided for by the intent of the law, we have been favored by Prof. M. W. Harrington, J. B. Steere of Ionia county, and Prof. W. J. Beal of the Agricultural College. * * *

"The portions of the State actually subjected to examination during 1869-70 are:

- (1) The Copper district of Portage Lake.
- (2) The Marquette Iron District including what is now known as the Gwinn Iron District of Marquette county.
- (3) St. Mary's Peninsula, by which is meant that portion of the Northern Peninsula extending from St. Mary's river west to the Whitefish river of Little Bay De Nocquet.
- (4) The Green Bay Region.
- (5) The Cheboygan Region.
- (6) The Little Traverse Bay Region.
- (7) The Thunder Bay Region.
- (8) The AuSable river Region.
- (9) The valley of the Manistee River.
- (10) The valley of the Pere Marquette River.
- (11) The valley of the Muskegon River.
- (12) Kent County.
- (13) Lapeer County.
- (14) Many other localities in the Southern Peninsula.

Investigations of a most general nature were made on the following subjects:

East Shore statistics of Forest, Lumber and Fisheries.

West Shore statistics of Forest, Lumber and Fisheries.

Fruit statistics of the west shore of the Southern Peninsula.

Meteorological Investigations."

Dr. Winchell had planned and in great degree assembled the material for a series of publications which would have been of the utmost value in the develop-

ment of the State. The comprehensiveness of this plan may be inferred from the following outline:

Part I, Physiographic Features of the State.

Book 1. *Geographical Position and Area* in 6 chapters including (1) general geographic relations of Michigan to North America, (2) form and boundaries of the two peninsulas and treaties and laws establishing the State boundaries, (3) list of latitudes and longitudes established by astronomical observations and differences in time between Detroit and other principal points in the State, (4) dimensions of the different degrees of latitude and longitude in Michigan, air line distance between principal points and a list of all islands exceeding 1/100 of a square mile in area, (5) an exposition of the public land surveys and the inaccuracies incident to them, and (6) a record of the areas of all of the townships and islands.

Book 2. *Lakes and Streams* in seven chapters including (1) sketch of the Great Lakes, dimensions, areas, coast lines, harbors, soundings, profiles, annual and secular fluctuations, tides, seiches, currents, storms, climatic effects, and relations of discharge to precipitation and evaporation, (2) navigation and commerce of the Great Lakes, (3) fisheries of the Great Lakes, (4) the inland lakes, (5) the rivers, (6) navigation of the rivers, and (7) water powers.

Book 3. *Topography* in six chapters including (1) relation between topography and geological structure, (2) description of prominent land forms, (3) catalog of elevations and profiles, (4) marshes, alluviums, prairies, and sand dunes, (5) erosions and depositions along the lake shores and river valleys, (6) and scenery.

Book 4. *Climatology* in six chapters including (1) Elements of climate, i. e. temperature, winds,

humidity, atmospheric pressure, (2) meteorological tables, (3) discussion of meteorological data of Michigan, (4) special climatic phenomena, (5) general description of the climate throughout the year, and (6) climate in relation to agriculture.

Book 5. *Magnetography* in two chapters including (1) nature and phenomena of magnetic force and (2) uses and properties of the magnetic needle.

Book 6. *Vegetation* in two divisions including (1) duration and succession of forest growths, reciprocal influences of forest and climate, character and distribution of Michigan forests, lumber and other forest products, and (2) herbaceous vegetation including medicinal and edible herbs.

Book 7. *Sanitary Characteristics* of the State in two chapters including (1) natural sanitary districts and their climatic and terrestrial characteristics, and (2) mortuary and sanitary statistics.

Book 8. *Population and Improvements* including settlements and trend of populations and state of internal communications.

Book 9. *Fruit Production* with special reference to the fruit belt of western Michigan.

Book 10. *Agriculture* including chapters on cereals, root crops, hay and grass, nurseries for fruit trees, stock, general farm crops and difficulties encountered by the Michigan farmer.

The other 9 parts to which Part I is introductory had not been so minutely outlined but it was the intention of Winchell to treat them with equal thoroughness.

Part II. *General Geology of the State*. A description of the succession, distribution, and structure of the rock formations.

Part III. *Economic Geology.* A description of all of the natural products of the rocks excluding copper and iron.

Part IV. *The Iron Resources of the State.*

Part V. *The Copper Resources of the State.*

Part VI. *Detailed Geology.* A discussion of the geology of each county in detail.

Part VII. *Paleontology.* A description of the organic remains or fossils in the rocks.

Part VIII. *Zoology.* A description of the animal life of Michigan.

Part IX. *Botany.* A complete account of the plant life of Michigan.

Part X. *Antiquities.* A study of relics and works of Indians, prehistoric peoples in Michigan.

The plan of the Survey and publications had doubtless already met with opposition. Winchell had asked for an appropriation of \$61,300 for a completion of the work he had planned and in publishing his report of progress and outline of work for future accomplishment which only a short time previous had been orally discussed with the Board, he introduces a defense of his plans and at the same time pleads for adequate support in executing them. He says:

"I am deeply interested in this work, in every way. I am in a condition to urge it forward as rapidly as it is practicable to do it. I am in possession of the accumulated notes and observations of a seventeen years' period of residence and study. I have access to the original notes of Dr. Houghton; to a folio volume of notes of my own survey in 1859-60; to several scrap-books filled with items and documents bearing upon the material resources of the State; all the materials of former surveys gathered together in the Museum

of the University; all my original notes of investigation upon these materials, besides the two or three folio volumes of notes accumulated during the past two years. I feel therefore, not only interested in the work but prepared to prosecute it. I have no purpose however, of protracting the work beyond such period as the legislation which may be had shall necessitate. I would like to complete it within the next two years. It can be done, and should be done. I should feel impatient over a lingering labor prolonged through the interference of parsimonious or illiberal views on the part of the State government. It would be injustice to myself, as well as damage to the State. I have other enterprises lying before me in the future. I have no disposition to sacrifice them, and cannot. When this work is concluded I desire to visit foreign lands. When this work is concluded I have another work which has the pledge of my undivided attention. I have no motive therefore, to protract this survey. Its pecuniary recompense to me is but a pittance; though I am content. I confess that I labor rather to be remembered with gratitude and respect, than to leave an inheritance to unknown heirs. * * *

"Sixty thousand dollars is not a large sum of money for the great State of Michigan to expend upon a work which is destined to complete the State itself to the eyes and apprehension of the world. It is too large a sum to squander. Not a cent of it should be misapplied or yielded to a spirit of greed. This work accomplished, Michigan will be read and known of all men. She has nothing to conceal. Her highest encomium is the fullest truth. This exposition of her mineral resources and physical characteristics will proffer irresistible invitations to immigration, to man-

ufacture, to wealth, culture, education, and all that constitutes a great and glorious commonwealth.

"It is not an expenditure for the benefit of a single class of our citizens. It is not an appropriation for the insane, nor the idiotic, nor the deaf and dumb. It is not exclusively for the farmer, nor the mechanic, nor the professional class. It is not for the improvement of a river, nor a harbor, nor for the construction of a canal or railroad which would benefit but one portion of the State. It is not for education alone—either primary, higher, normal, or professional. It is for all these classes, for all these objects, and for all sections at once. It is an expenditure of 5 cents and one mill by each individual of our population to add millions to the valuation of our real estate, millions to the value of our public lands, and thousands to our population. * * * * *

"It is through making the world acquainted with the facts respecting our States, instead of leaving them in ignorance and consequent suspicion; through the disclosure of positively attractive characteristics—through the consequent influx of immigration, not only of the indigent foreign class, but of the native, enterprising, competent, Americanized classes; through the consequent establishment of manufactures and the proper diversification of our industries; through the opening of roads of every description to supply the wants and conveniences of widening and thickening population; through the enhancement, by such means of the aggregate valuation of real estate, and the correlative reduction of the rate of taxation; by these means, and others, will the Survey swell the aggregate of wealth and comfort and civilization within the limits of our State. * * * * *

"I cannot help believing that our Legislature will take such action in this case as shall illustrate and fairly represent the intelligence and breadth of view which characterize the population of our State."

But the plans and hopes of Dr. Winchell were destined to fail. During the months of February and March 1871, there were frequent meetings of the Board of Geological Survey and from the brief minutes which are preserved it is evident that the Board was dissatisfied with the direction of the Survey and sought to persuade Dr. Winchell to alter his course in accordance with their views. Thus on February 23 "it was resolved to give the survey a more practical direction and to secure more direct and immediate benefits" and on March 13 "The Board after mature reflection and consultation advised the Director to a course of action, to which, however, the Director was unwilling to consent." The discussions between the Director and the Board were continued on March 14 and again on the 21st when the differences remaining unsurmountable Dr. Winchell tendered his resignation which was laid on the table, discussed on the following day, and not finally accepted until April 17.

In the meantime the Board had proceeded to have the law changed in such a way as to abolish not only the power and duties of the Director but the office itself and to center the full responsibility as well as authority in the Board. The Legislature acted promptly and amended the law in accordance with the desires of the Board, at the same time repealing the provision requiring an equal division of the work and expenditure between the Northern and the Southern Peninsulas.²⁵ In other respects the law remains unaltered.

²⁵Act No. 179, Public Acts of 1871. Approved April 17, 1871.

Dr. Winchell's resignation was accepted on the day the amendments became effective and on this same day Dr. Carl Rominger was appointed to continue the survey of that part of the State not included in the investigations of Major Brooks on the iron ranges, and of Prof. Pumpelly in the copper country.

DR. CARL ROMINGER, 1872-1885

THE SURVEY OF THE NORTHERN PENINSULA UNDER
BROOKS, PUMPELLY, AND ROMINGER,
1871-2

In 1871-2 Dr. Rominger completed a survey of the Paleozoic rocks which cover the east end of the Northern Peninsula from Marquette to St. Mary's river while the studies of Brooks and Pumpelly on the iron and copper districts were brought to a close. Near the end of 1872 the manuscripts and illustrations were practically finished and were transmitted by the Board to Julius Bien, publisher, of New York. In 1874 an edition of 2,500 copies were delivered to the Board consisting of Vol. I (12 vo.) in three parts, viz.: Part I, 319 pp., Iron-bearing Rocks by Major T. B. Brooks; Part II, 143 pp., Copper District by Raphael Pumpelly assisted by A. R. Marvin, L. G. Emerson, and L. B. Ladd; Part III, 105 pp., Paleozoic Rocks by Carl Rominger, accompanied by an atlas of geological maps, sections and statistical data; and Vol. II (12 vo. 298 pp.), Appendices to Part I of Vol. I, containing a lithological description of specimens of rocks by Alexis A. Julien, Major Brooks, and Chas. E. Wright.²⁶

The appearance of this report marks an epoch in the study of the geology of the Northern Peninsula.

²⁶The total cost of the edition was \$22,208.00 or \$8.88 per set.

Twenty-one years had passed since the reports of the Jackson-Foster-Whitney surveys had been given to the public. In the interim a few articles by various writers on various subjects of the geology of the Northern Peninsula had appeared in certain periodicals but no considerable advance in understanding of the general geology had been made. Previous accounts had been based on explorations more or less widely extended but the studies of Pumpelly, particularly on the copper bearing rocks, and Brooks on the Marquette range were based on those minute observations which have characterized nearly all subsequent work in this region. Pumpelly's "Paragenesis of the Minerals Associated with Copper" is one of the classics of geology, and Marvin's "Detailed Structure and Stratigraphic Sections" remains even today the standard for comparison and correlation of the formation members of the vast thickness of sedimentary beds and lava flows of the copper bearing series on Keweenaw Point. Brooks' report on the Marquette Range is devoted mainly to the economic aspect of iron mining and smelting but nevertheless a great advance was made in his studies of the structure and succession of the Huronian system in this range. Brooks was the first to perceive that the Marquette range is a great synclinal trough forty miles in length pitching westward from the vicinity of Marquette. He also, in company with Pumpelly, made reconnaissance examinations of the Gogebic range from Penoque Gap in Wisconsin eastward to Lake Gogebic in Michigan and determined correctly the relations of the Laurentian, Huronian, and Keweenaw systems in this range. Numerous details of the geology of the Menominee and Felch Mountain ranges are also given.

Rominger's report on the Paleozoic rocks is the first comprehensive description of the geology of "St. Mary's Peninsula" and maintains the high standard set by Pumpelly and Brooks.

During the four years 1872-1876 Dr. Rominger was engaged practically alone in the work of the Survey. The results of his researches are embodied in Volume III of the Survey reports—a discussion of the geological structure of the Southern Peninsula, confirming and carrying further the views and researches of the earlier geologists, Houghton and Winchell, as to the "basin structure" of the Michigan area. Included as an appendix to Vol. III, is a report on the salt wells by Dr. S. S. Garrigues, the State Salt Inspector. But by far the most important part of this publication is Part III, a carefully elaborated monograph on the indigenous fossil corals of the State, which was the first treatise of a state Survey devoted wholly to corals, and which remains today the classic treatise of fossil corals of the Michigan Basin.

In the spring of 1887, the Board of Geological Survey, although comprehending the valuable work of earlier geologists, realized that much exploration of a geological nature remained to be done in the Northern Peninsula, and that despite the arduous labors of Houghton and Winchell, investigations were only commenced and should be continued "Not alone in the appreciation of the economical importance of a thorough knowledge of the geology of this part of the State, which by its mineral wealth belongs to the most favored spots of the continent, but they thought also that the pride and duty of the citizens of the commonwealth required it to contribute to the promotion of science in general with the same liberality as many

other States have done and are still doing, and to have so interesting a part of its territory fully examined." Therefore the Board accepted the report of Dr. Rominger and approved his plan "to examine with careful accuracy certain small circumscribed districts, so related as to embrace the most important rock formations developed in the region." For the successful execution of such a plan accurate topographic maps were indispensable, but here Dr. Rominger, like earlier and later geologists, found his work hampered and delayed by the lack of such maps, having to depend upon the government maps of the linear survey of the United States, upon which the topography was often either omitted or inaccurately recorded. However, the need for careful topographic work as well as a general geologic reconnaissance resulted in the discovery of many "instructive" outcrops which would have been overlooked in less careful and painstaking work. Three summer seasons were spent in a detailed investigation, and in the construction of a special geologic and topographic map (scale 2 in. : 1 mi.) of the district about Marquette, Negaunee and Ishpeming—an area of over 200 square miles. Also Dr. Rominger examined the then important mining locations—Washington, Champion, Republic, Spurr, Michigamme. The season of 1880 was spent in a similar careful examination of the Menominee region, the carefully written report of the work appearing as Vol. IV of the Survey Reports. "Part II, on the Menominee Iron Region was especially valuable in guiding explorations for iron ore in Iron and Dickinson Counties, a region at that time almost an unbroken wilderness."

During 1884, continuing his plan of careful examination of small areas, the State Geologist continued work in the Northern Peninsula in the copper and iron country. Although the report of the season's work on the copper, gold and iron regions of the Northern Peninsula would have been of great value to mining companies, it would make so small a volume that the Board deemed it advisable to delay its publication, therefore a report pertinent to the mining problems of the day was not placed before the public until ten years later, when it appeared as part of Volume V, 1895.

Dr. Rominger continued as State Geologist until May, 1885, when he was succeeded by Mr. Charles E. Wright of Marquette, who had been Commissioner of Mineral Statistics since 1878, and a member of the Board of Control of the Mining School at Houghton.

CHARLES E. WRIGHT 1885-1888

DR. M. E. WADSWORTH 1888-1893

Mr. Wright remained State Geologist until his death, March, 1888. During the field season he was engaged in making maps of the topography and sketches to illustrate geologic phenomena of the Northern Peninsula, and in the collection of 3,300 specimens of rocks to be the nuclei of the rock collections of the University and various colleges of the State. In the Southern Peninsula, he visited the salt wells and from information there obtained prepared sixty sections of deep borings. At the time of Wright's death, however, in spite of his zealous labors to fit himself for the position of State Geologist, by years of research and study, and although he had planned and laid out work on a large scale, nothing was available for publication, and many

facts and conclusions reached by him were lost to the public.

Following the death of Mr. Wright, pressure was brought to bear upon the Board of Geological Survey to appoint someone as State Geologist who could take up the work where Mr. Wright had left it, the choice falling upon Dr. M. E. Wadsworth, Director of the State Mining School, who had been for many years an associate of Mr. Wright. An arrangement was made with the Mining School whereby Dr. Wadsworth was permitted to manage that institution and at the same time act as State Geologist. That such a union of offices was unwise was brought to the attention of the Board, but "the inadequacy of the means provided for carrying on the Survey"²⁷ rendering it impossible for the Board to employ men, furnish rooms, and equip a suitable laboratory, caused the argument that the interests of the School and Survey were, in a measure, identical and that each would aid the other in the objects sought, to prevail."

With the appointment of Dr. Wadsworth, the Survey at last secured offices of its own. Up to that time the Survey had had no habitation other than the private offices or homes of the various geologists, a condition which makes it not surprising that much Survey property had been lost. In May, 1889, the Mining School gave a room, rent free, about twenty-five by thirty feet in size, in which all indoor work of the Survey could be performed, and in which was stored all the property of the Survey, except manuscript and published volumes. The School also allowed the Survey unrestricted access to and use of all its departments

²⁷\$8,000 a year, any part of which remaining at the end of the fiscal year must be returned to the State treasury.

and laboratories, thus providing a means of more rapid indoor work, preparation of specimens, thin sections, analyses, and map work, which should have hastened publication of reports.

Dr. Wadsworth continued Wright's plan of detailed surveys in the Iron Districts, exploring the territory between Iron River and Gogebic Lake, and between the State boundary and township 46 on the north, and in mapping unsurveyed districts near the Marquette district in 1888; in 1889 extending the exploration westward from Lake Gogebic to the State boundary and in exploring the eastern boundary of the copper bearing rocks.

In 1889 arrangements were made for the cooperation of the State Survey with the United States Survey, enabling the State Survey to devote most of its time and resources to the economic geology of the State, leaving the more purely scientific studies, particularly in paleontology, to the United States Survey. The Board at that time upon the recommendation of Dr. Wadsworth, voted to correspond with Prof. Mendenhall, Superintendent of the Coast and Geodetic Survey, asking him to undertake the triangulation of the State, the making of a topographic map, and the running of a line of levels in the State, but apparently nothing further was done to aid the inauguration and progress of the much needed topographic survey.

The Board of Geological Survey of 1890-92²³ seems to have taken a very lively personal interest in the work of the Survey. They accepted Dr. Wadsworth's very ambitious plans of organization of and

²³Winans, Babcock, Fitch.

work for the Survey²⁹ but from the minutes of the meetings it is evident that they were "dissatisfied and disappointed" with the slow output of material for publication and "dissatisfied that the rock specimens and thin sections were not being prepared and sent to the various schools and colleges with greater rapidity." The Board visited the offices of the Survey at Houghton and at a joint meeting with the Board of Control of the Mining School, it was decided that Dr. Wadsworth should be released from his duties as Director of the school until May 1, 1892 (from August, 1891), "to such an extent as was necessary to enable him to complete the work to date." Also the State Geologist was requested to supply the Board with

1st.—History of the former geological work done in Michigan with the results obtained.

2d.—A general index of all past publications that relate to the general and economic geology of Michigan, giving ranges, townships and sections as an aid to the explorer, miner, quarryman, and others.

3d.—Republication of the reports of Dr. Douglass Houghton.

4th.—Unpublished report of Dr. Rominger.

5th.—Sketch of the life of Chas. E. Wright, M.E., late State Geologist, containing his annual report.

6th.—Township or district maps of the distribution of the rocks and geological formations, for the use of the explorer and others, covering the chief parts of the counties of Baraga, Marquette, Iron, Menominee, and Gogebic, with some portions of Ontonagon, Houghton and Keeweenaw counties.

7th.—Descriptive text to accompany above maps containing an account of the geological structure so far as known, and a description of the observed rocks and minerals.

8th.—A classification and description of the minerals of Michigan, their distribution, methods of determination, etc., to assist the explorer and others.

9th.—A general classification and description of rocks, with special relation to Michigan rocks, for general use.

10th.—A general classification and description of ore deposits in general, with special reference to the Michigan ore deposits, as an assistance to explorers, miners, and others.

11th.—The iron ore deposits of Michigan, their origin and relations, with sections, maps, etc., together with a discussion of the comparative relations of other iron ore deposits.

12th.—The gold and silver deposits of Michigan, with maps, etc., together with a comparison of the mode of occurrence of related deposits.

13th.—The copper deposits of Michigan and related districts.

14th.—The gas and salt wells of Michigan, with sections and a general discussion of the occurrence of gas, petroleum and salt.

15th.—The building stones, their properties, mode of occurrence, etc.

16th.—Gypsum, coal, limes, clays, marls, and the minor mineral products of Michigan.

17th.—Methods of mining, timbering, hoisting, etc., particularly those employed in Michigan.

18th.—Methods of ore dressing used in Michigan, and elsewhere if adapted to Michigan products.

19th.—Metallurgical processes suitable for use in Michigan.

20th.—Rectification of the boundary line between the copper bearing rocks and the Eastern sandstone, with a discussion of their relations and the probable extension of the copper belt.

"data for their annual report by January 1, 1891." In this request the Board was disappointed and the somewhat acrimonious correspondence ensuing led Dr. Wadsworth to tender his resignation March 3, 1891, which resignation was not however accepted, but a sharp communication was sent him "that unless the material required for the annual report of the board is forwarded to the Board by the first of April next, the Board will take steps forthwith to transfer its property to Lansing, discharge its present employees and employ such others as it sees fit." Also a committee, Messrs. Babcock and Fitch, was appointed to visit the State Geologist to ascertain what progress was made in preparation of the report. This investigation and a letter to the Board (see footnote²⁹) giving in detail the State Geologist's plan and the statement that "suspension of its operations or any change in the Survey now would result either in putting back the publication for many years, or more probably would cause the entire loss to the State of the past ten years' work already done since no one can take up the work of another, in its partial development, and carry it on as fully and as rapidly as the originator himself," resulted in continuing Dr. Wadsworth as State Geologist and writing him that "the differences between him and the Board had arisen from a misunderstanding of the amount of work to be completed," and in the report of the Board is written "Dr. Wadsworth has the survey thoroughly organized, and has surrounded himself with intelligent assistants, and so far as *the time given the Survey* will permit, is making considerable progress."

Although the papers comprising Vol. V of the Survey publication, excepting the manuscript relating

to salt, gas and petroleum wells, were in the hands of the Board in June, 1892, and in spite of the fact that it was the lack of published results of the progress of the survey that stirred this Board to its singular activity, the Board retired with the volume unpublished, publishing only "The Report of The State Board of Geological Survey for the years 1891 and 1892," to which are appended Exhibits setting forth the expenses of the Survey from its inception to November 1892, the reports of Dr. Carl Rominger for the years 1881 and 1882-3; of Mr. Charles E. Wright for the years 1885-8, of Dr. M. E. Wadsworth for the years 1887, 1890, 1891, 1892; also a provisional report by Dr. Wadsworth upon the geology of the iron, gold, and copper districts of Michigan. This provisional report of Dr. Wadsworth's is the only contribution of the Wright and Wadsworth administration. It was published without maps and is for that reason of less value than it otherwise would be.

This is the first and only report by a Board of Geological Survey of Michigan, as such; although the law provides that such a report shall be made, it makes no provision as to the official or body to whom the report is to be presented. In this report it was observed that the members of the Board are such *ex-officio* (the Governor, Superintendent of Public Instruction, and Secretary of the State Board of Education) and that if the law intended the annual report to be made to the governor, it would in effect require the governor to make a report to himself. The Board of 1891-2 made its report to the Legislature, and suggested that the law be amended to specify the official body to whom the report shall be made. Among the recommendations for remedial legislation made

by this very active and interested Board were some which were significant of future changes to be made in the conduct of the Survey: one was, that "a room in the Capitol be set aside for the Geological Survey * * * * *" thus foreshadowing the time when the Survey would be severed from Mining School or University and be an independent institution with offices in Lansing; another asked an increased appropriation so as to secure the *entire time* of competent geologists, so paving the way for the time when the Director of the Survey should also be independent of Mining School or University or other institution, paving the way for the time when the finances of the Survey should be on a plain business basis, and the work of the Survey should no longer be hindered by the divided interests of the Director (Dr. Winchell and Dr. Rominger were professors in the University, Mr. Wright was a practicing mining engineer, and Dr. Wadsworth was President of the College of Mines), but the compensation of the Director be such that he could devote his entire time to the Survey; a third recommendation brought about some immediate though partial result, but was partially carried out nearly twenty years later. The Board said: "We are unable to see any reason for the existence of a Commissioner of Mineral Statistics independent of the Geological Survey. The work of the officer naturally falls under the supervision of the Survey, and could better be done by it than by such commissioner. Should that office, therefore, be united with the Survey, and an additional officer be added to the Board of Geological Survey, whose duties should be to discharge the functions now performed by that officer, great good would accrue to the State. The Geological Survey would

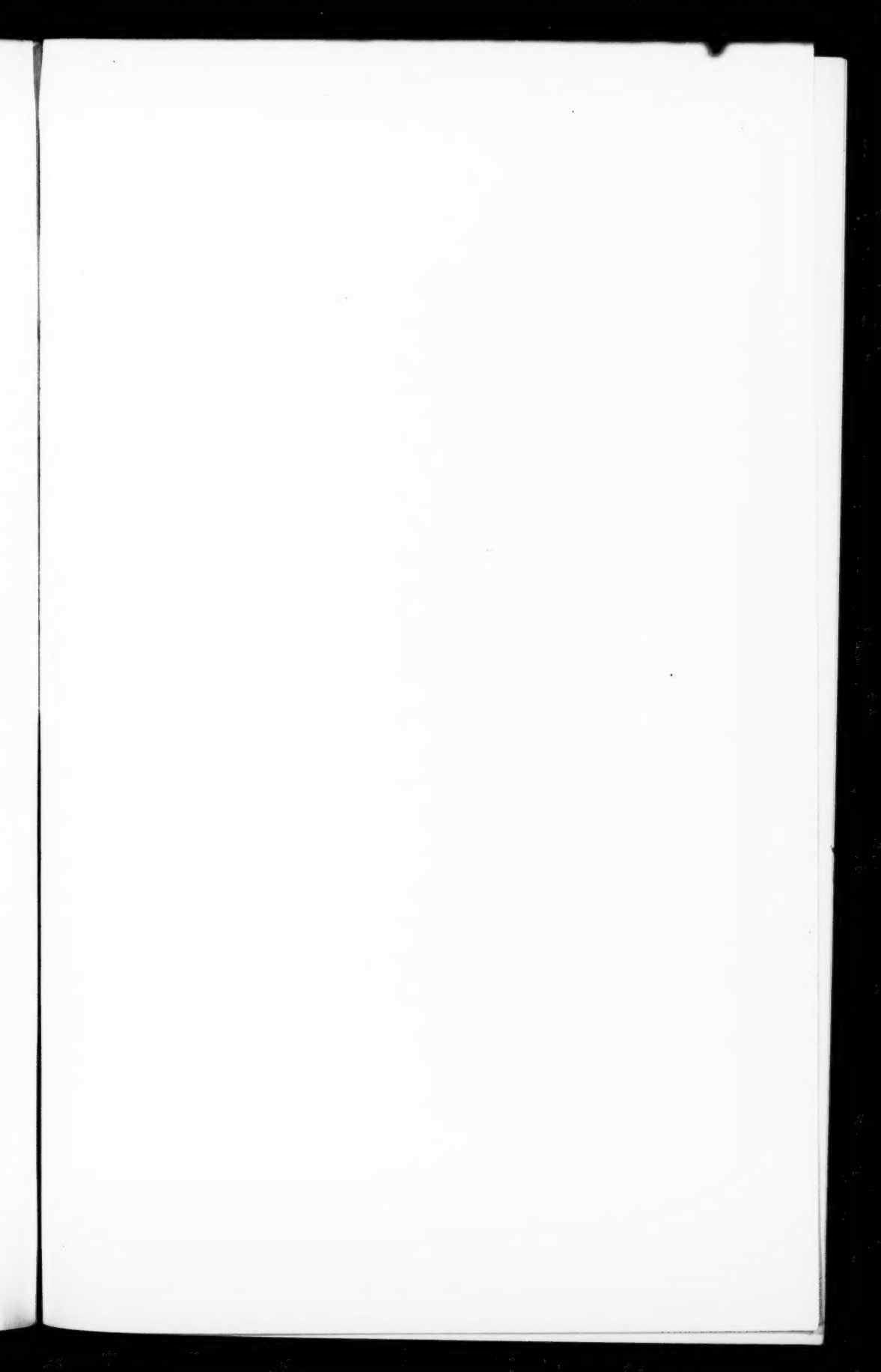
be properly looked after, and equally valuable results obtained relative to mineral statistics, with but little if any additional expense to the State."

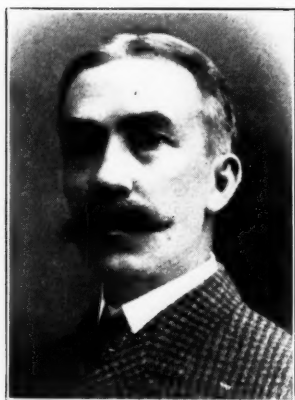
The Legislature took no action at this time, but eventually the recommendations were partly carried out and the successors of Dr. Wadsworth have devoted their undivided efforts to the Survey.

The succeeding Board, Gov. John T. Rich, Hon. Perry Powers, and Hon. H. R. Pattengill, acted upon the recommendations of their predecessors to the extent of considering legislation to incorporate the office of Mineral Statistics with the Survey, and to appoint a State Geologist independent of the College of Mines. When informed of the intentions of the Board, Dr. Wadsworth offered to resign as President of the Mining School and devote his entire time to the directorship of the Survey, if his compensation would be placed at \$4,000 a year. The Board did not accept Dr. Wadsworth's proposal, however, and on July 1, 1893, appointed Dr. Lucius L. Hubbard of the Board of Directors of the Mining School to the office of State Geologist, and Dr. A. C. Lane, Assistant State Geologist.

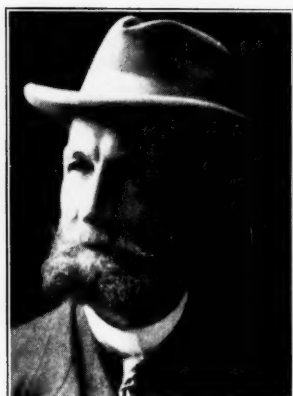
DR. LUCIUS L. HUBBARD, 1893-1899

With the appointment of Dr. Hubbard the Survey entered upon a period of thorough reorganization—it was severed from Mining School and University, the efforts of the Director were not henceforth to be divided with other interests, the Survey was no longer to be an appendage to the University or the College of Mines, a condition considered by the Board to be beneficial to those institutions, but detrimental to the Survey.

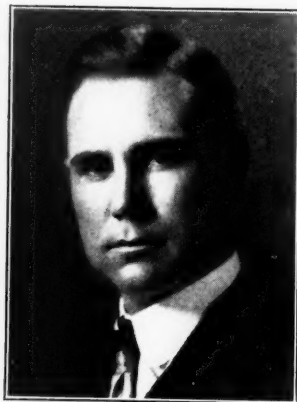




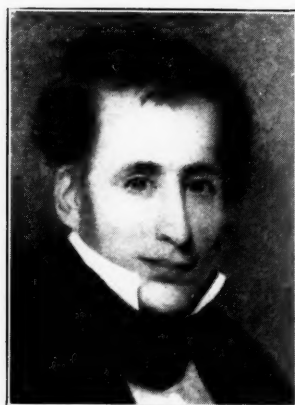
L. L. HUBBARD
1893-1899



ALFRED C. LANE
1899-1909



R. C. ALLEN
1909-1919



DOUGLASS HOUGHTON
1838-1846

On October 6, 1893, the Board of Control of the Mining School passed a resolution giving the Survey permission to erect "a suitable building on the east side of the Michigan Mining School property * * * * * on a piece of ground to be designated by the Executive Committee of the Board of Control, and to occupy the same rent free for the purposes of carrying on the work of the Survey, but for no other purpose; said ground occupied by said building to be under the general management of the Board of Control of the Mining School; the Board of Control reserving the right, if at any time the ground occupied by said building should in their judgment be needed for the use of the Mining School, to remove the said structure to some other part of its grounds; the said Geological Survey to occupy said ground on which said building shall be erected as tenants at the will of the Board of Control of the Michigan Mining School." The offer of the Board of Control was accepted, and through the efforts of Dr. Hubbard the citizens of Houghton contributed \$1,100 to which the Survey added \$1,500 and a small one and a half story building equipped with a fire-proof vault was erected, and at last after an existence of over half a century, the first department of the State to be created secured housing of its own, partly equipped with apparatus most necessary for its work.

Up to this time the history of the achievements of the Third Survey is mainly a record of exploration and progress in the Northern Peninsula, aside from the brief, interrupted work of Prof. Winchell, 1859-1863 and the lonely work of Prof. Rominger, and some records and statistics collected by Mr. Wright on the salt and gas wells of the Southern Peninsula. But

since the United States Geological Survey was at this time completing the Monograph on the Lake Superior District³⁰ and further work by the Michigan Survey in the Iron District would lead to duplication, Dr. Hubbard made an agreement with the Federal Survey to do no work in the Iron District, continuing, however, work on Keweenaw Point and Isle Royale. However, exploration was extended to the Southern Peninsula under the direction of Dr. Lane, Assistant State Geologist. Dr. Lane had been engaged for some time past in making microscopical studies of the thin sections of Michigan rocks collected by Mr. Wright; he had also carefully worked over the notes on and the records of gas and salt well sections left by Mr. Wright and from these prepared the first important contribution since that of Prof. Rominger to the literature of the Geology of the Southern Peninsula—"The Geology of the Lower Peninsula with Reference to Deep Borings." This work "was particularly valuable, both scientifically and economically because it enabled correlations to be made between the strata in one part of the Southern Peninsula with similar strata in all other parts, and thus not only clarified the geologic history of the Paleozoic Era in Michigan, but furnished a valuable guide for the prospector in search of any of the products of these rocks, such as gypsum, coal, building stone, cement materials and especially salt and bromine." It developed from these studies of Dr. Lane, that there are four horizons that yield commercial salt and brines. This report with an introduction by Dr. Hubbard on "The Origin of Salt, Gypsum and Petroleum" was published in

³⁰Monograph 52 U. S. G. S. Van Hise and Leith.

1895 as Part II of Volume V, Part I being the long delayed report of Dr. Rominger on the Geology of the Upper Peninsula.

During the years 1895-96, Dr. Hubbard was engaged in intensive field study of the copper bearing rocks,³¹ the Keweenaw Series, on Keweenaw Point, and at the same time, Dr. Lane was engaged in a similar study of the same series of rocks which compose the unique Isle Royale. Dr. Hubbard made particular study of problems untouched or unconsidered by other geologists, particularly in connection with the acid intrusives in the lower part of the series; he obtained much data enabling him to elucidate many valuable details of structure, and interpret results of explorations, particularly near Portage Lake.

Dr. Lane's studies on Isle Royale were similar in scope to Dr. Hubbard's for Keweenaw Point, but Dr. Lane included minute studies of the copper bearing rocks, or Keweenaw Series forming the island, their origin, present composition, structural and topographic relations and the geologic processes by which they have been metamorphosed to their present condition. Dr. Lane reported also on the prehistoric copper mining on Isle Royale, and described modern attempts to locate and mine copper from all of which he was enabled to give valuable advice concerning future exploration.

The reports of these two surveys embody the highest type of geological work; they were accompanied by valuable maps and were complete and ready for publication in December, 1896. But they also were fated

³¹A direct result of the geological studies made by Dr. Hubbard in the copper district was his discovery of the Champion Mine, which is now (1921) Michigan's most valuable copper mine. "The Champion Mine is valued at \$11,000,000, has produced 341,669,308 pounds of copper and paid \$25,850,260 in dividends. For the eight year period 1912-1919 the Champion paid to the State \$993,338.89 in taxes," nearly twice the total cost of the Michigan Geological Survey since 1869.

to delay in publication. For some reason the Board of Auditors refused to publish reports of the Geological Survey unless authorized to do so by the legislature. This caused a delay of two years in publication and resulted in the passing of Act No. 78 of the Laws of 1899, by which the Board of Geological Survey was authorized "to order the publication of reports which it is by aforesaid act³² authorized to require." "By publication is understood to include printing, and at their discretion electrotyping, of the reports above mentioned, and the preparation of illustrations and maps thereto appertaining; * *

Sec. 2. Bills for the expenses incurred under the provisions of Section 1 of this Act shall after approval by the Board be presented to the State Board of Auditors and after allowance of them audited by the Auditor General and paid for from the general fund * * * * *." Following the passage of this Act, the two reports appeared as Vol. VI of the Survey Reports published by Dr. Hubbard's successor, though properly belonging to Dr. Hubbard's administration.

Many inquiries from people within and without Michigan relative to the economic mineral deposits of the State came to the office of the Survey, and because the absence of knowledge as to the exact location of such deposits was a serious drawback to possible exploitation by would-be investors, and therefore to the development of the State, the Survey planned the accumulation of knowledge of such nature, and Dr. Hubbard laid out a plan for work in the Southern Peninsula, a plan which was determined by the geological structure of the Southern Peninsula. "As is well known, the geological structure of the Lower

³²Act No. 65. Laws of 1869.

Peninsula can be compared to a series of bowls placed one within another, the center is occupied by the coal measures and from the center outwards the different formations may be expected to occur more or less regularly in all directions in sequence. Consequently the geology of any given segment of the bowl-aggregate or basin will be likely to match approximately any other segment. The geology of Monroe County will correspond to the area about Cheboygan and St. Ignace. Sanilac and the greater part of Huron and Tuscola being without the coal basin, will represent the geological conditions that prevail in Iosco, Missaukee, Newaygo, Kent, Barry, Washtenaw, Lapeer and other counties contiguous to the coal basin. * * *

The plan of the survey was to begin simultaneously on different parts of the formations, in counties where the rock outcrops were supposed to be most abundant and where these outcrops supplemented by data from artesian and other wells, would enable us to construct maps showing the surface contour and other maps showing the rock contours—that is, the calculated depth from the surface to rock at any point. The detailed enumeration of these reports of the different economic products encountered during the progress of the work, not only would be an aid to the investment of capital at the point or points specified, but would serve an even more important purpose. The citizens of Cheboygan, knowing that they are on the same belt that passes under Monroe County, would know that unless geologic conditions had changed much to the north, they might find in their neighborhood both pure and hydraulic limestone, glass-sand and salt; * * * Thus the publication of one county report would have significance and interest for the citizens

of many counties, and might stimulate exploration at many points. It would be for the Survey to determine later with more precision the exact boundaries of the different belts as its systematic work was extended to other counties. * * *³³

In the consummation of this plan field work was carried on in Huron County by Dr. Lane, in Sanilac County by Dr. C. H. Gordon and in Monroe County by Prof. W. H. Sherzer. The work was begun most auspiciously, the manuscripts on Huron and Sanilac counties being submitted in January and September 1897, and the field work on Monroe County being completed early in 1898, but the facts did not reach the people of the State for whom they were intended due to the refusal of the Board of Auditors to order printing of plates for the county bulletins. Pending legislation on the question Dr. Lane addressed a number of Farmers' Institutes on the subject "The Best Farm Water Supply," "this," quoting Dr. Hubbard, "appeared to be the best medium available to bring before the people a part, at least, of the results of the Survey work."

During the early history of the salt industry in the Saginaw Valley, the refuse from the lumber mills had furnished readily available fuel, but this "inexhaustible supply of pine" became exhausted, and if the salt industry was to flourish, a cheap fuel must be found within the State since lacking competition, the cost of imported coal from Ohio and Pennsylvania was almost prohibitive. This caused in 1895 a rapid development in the coal areas which had been known for over fifty years. In 1898, Dr. Lane had prepared a report on the Coal Basin to help development and "to

³³Sixth Annual Report of State Geologist, L. L. Hubbard, Jan. 1899.

give the land owner of Lower Michigan that amount of geological information which would enable him to form an intelligent estimate of the value of his land for coal mining purposes, and to plan intelligently for the economical development thereof,³⁴ and to make the report available and of value, it was printed serially in the *Michigan Miner* (Saginaw). It may be said here that later these reports were all issued by the Survey.³⁵ But the delay in printing having made the work of the Survey temporarily useless, Dr. Hubbard declined to continue the county survey on the same scale as in the three counties already surveyed, so that during the season of 1898 the county survey was carried on only in Tuscola County, by Prof. C. A. Davis working almost alone.

January 10, 1899, Dr. Hubbard tendered his resignation from the directorship of the Survey. His administration had been most efficient; he had thoroughly reorganized the Survey, perfected a plan for its development, which still remains in effect to some extent, surrounded himself with competent assistants, and though sadly embarrassed by the unaccountable opposition of the Board of Auditors, had secured results of benefit to the State.

DR. A. C. LANE, 1899-1909

In April, 1899, the Board of Geological Survey elected Dr. Lane as State Geologist. Dr. Lane had been connected with the Survey during Dr. Wadsworth's administration, and had served as Assistant State Geologist with Dr. Hubbard. He was thoroughly conversant with the plans of Dr. Hubbard

³⁴Vol. VIII.

³⁵Vol. VII.—1900, and Vol. VIII.—1903.

for the development of the Survey and continued to put them into execution.

The main office of the Survey was now transferred to Lansing and quarters for it secured in the old Hollister block and later in the Old State Building. Mr. Savicki, working under the direction of Dr. Hubbard, was left in charge of the Houghton office. The building which this office occupied was later moved from the grounds of the College of Mines to a lot on East Street which was later purchased by the Survey, although it was always the dream of Dr. Lane that the State might build a substantial, preferably stone, building in which valuable drill cores (costing \$2.00 to \$5.00 per foot) might be kept—"a stone library for a library of stone."

Hitherto the interests of the Survey had been devoted mainly to the Northern Peninsula and to structural geology. The geology of the Southern Peninsula is far less complex than that of the Northern, and the economic minerals and deposits at or near the surface are more numerous and varied, though even in the aggregate not so valuable as the minerals of the Northern Peninsula. This fact coupled with the numerous requests for data on such deposits, on artesian water supplies, on coal, etc., make it not at all surprising that the Survey publications began to assume a more diverse character as to subject matter. Investigations of the economic geology continued—particularly investigations of coal, clay, shales, and marls.³⁶ At the suggestion of Prof. Russell of the University of Michigan, Mr. J. H. Cole in 1902 was engaged in a field study of the St. Clair Delta, a formation unique

³⁶Vol. VIII, Part I, Clays and Shales, Dr. H. Ries, Cornell; Part II, Coal, Dr. Lane; Part III, Marl, Dr. D. J. Hill.

among deltas since it is being formed by a short river which serves as the outlet of a great lake.³⁷ During the same season Mr. G. P. Grimsley of the Kansas Survey was investigating the gypsum industry of the State.³⁷ The activities of the Survey were widely distributed throughout the State as well as being diversified in character. For the division of geology in the Northern Peninsula, Prof. I. C. Russell was engaged in exploration and reconnaissance along the northern shores of Lake Michigan and Lake Huron³⁸ and in a study of the surface geology of Menominee, Dickinson and Iron Counties.³⁹ Mr. W. C. Gordon, then in charge of the Houghton office, explored, examined and made a geologic section of the copper bearing rocks of the Keweenaw Series between Bessemer and Lake Superior down Black River, a work designed to call attention to a then little known area of copper bearing rocks.⁴⁰ Dr. Hubbard had continued without salary, to direct work in the Northern Peninsula, but about 1903 found it impossible to devote time to the Survey and Dr. Frederic E. Wright "a highly trained man from the College of Mines was engaged as Assistant State Geologist." Dr. Wright brought to his study of the Porcupine Mountains⁴¹ and Mt. Bohemia⁴² the same painstaking care which later made him an expert in the field of petrography. Towards the close of Dr. Lane's administration, Mr. R. C. Allen began a study of the Iron River District.

Preparation of a report on the Surface Geology of the Northern Peninsula was in charge of Mr. Leverett of the United States Geological Survey. From the

³⁷Part I, Vol. IX. Part II, Vol. IX.

³⁸Ann. Rept. 1904.

³⁹Ann. Rept. 1906.

⁴⁰Ann. Rept. 1906.

⁴¹Ann. Rept. 1903.

⁴²Ann. Rept. 1908.

numerous requests reaching the Director's office Dr. Lane had become interested in the water supply of the State and besides his interest in the correlation of copper drilling from data furnished from the mines, Dr. Lane made a study and analysis of the potable waters of the Peninsula. The published reports of these last three investigations did not appear till some time after Dr. Lane's resignation from the Survey.

In the Southern Peninsula following the plan of Dr. Hubbard to secure data on the economic deposits of the State, examinations were made of salt shafts, peat deposits, the Port Huron oil field and of foundry sands. Most of the Michigan foundries secured the needed molding sands from Ohio, and as these deposits approached exhaustion it seemed advisable to determine whether Michigan's many factories could not be supplied by Michigan sand. Accordingly Prof. H. Ries was engaged to examine and report on the deposits of molding sands in the State. The report⁴³ shows that Michigan has many deposits of sand although much of it is too coarse for molding purposes and many of the deposits are limited in area. Reports of counties—Lapeer,⁴⁴ Muskegon,⁴⁴ Bay,⁴⁵ contiguous to the Coal Basin were continued, the reports on Arenac County⁴⁴ completed and that for Wayne County begun. The Board of Supervisors of Alcona petitioned for a survey of that county, but the funds at the disposal of the Survey did not permit the survey of that county without dropping work of equal importance begun elsewhere. Therefore with a public spiritedness worthy of emulation, Mr. J. H. Killmaster of Alcona County gave the free use of his

⁴³Ann. Report, 1907.

⁴⁴Ann. Rept. 1901.

⁴⁵Ann. Rept. 1905.

team of horses and the supervisors of Alcona County voted to expend \$200 on the survey under the direction of Dr. Lane.

Perhaps the most important contribution to the literature on the geology of the Southern Peninsula during Dr. Lane's incumbency is that contained in the Annual Report for 1908—The Geological Section of Michigan, by Dr. Lane and Prof. A. E. Seaman. The section was made from a careful examination and correlation of well records⁴⁶ by Dr. Lane for the Southern Peninsula and for the Northern Peninsula from drill records and the observations made by Dr. Seaman. The section was published in 1909—a fitting close to Dr. Lane's long active connection with the Survey. It is in the main tentative, but nevertheless its chief correlations remain substantially as worked out by the authors.

In securing legislation and appropriations for the Survey, Dr. Lane was not so successful as in securing aid in the scientific field. From the amount of work done in the State, and the very meager appropriations (\$8,000 a year) one is constrained to believe that much of the work was a "labor of love," perhaps fittingly repaid by indorsement of the scientific world but most unsubstantially rewarded by the chief beneficiary—the State of Michigan. However some very needed and long asked for legislation was secured—the establishment of the divisions of topographic and biologic surveys.

From the time of Douglass Houghton, every State Geologist had urged the need of a topographic survey of the State, every legislature, after the first four, had failed to heed that need and meet it with a proper

⁴⁶Vol. V. Geol. Surv.

appropriation. In 1891, Dr. Wadsworth reported that "plans are being formulated for a complete topographical map of Michigan in part at least by the aid of the United States Coast Survey and the United States Geological Survey." In 1892, he writes that "some correspondence has been had with the United States Geological Survey" in an effort to obtain the needed survey, and he urged that the Board press the needed legislation and secure the proper appropriation, but with no result. Ten years later, Dr. Lane found that because of the removal of the Houghton office, plans for summer field work in the Northern Peninsula were delayed and the sum of money for such work rendered available for work in the Southern Peninsula. This sum was used with the consent of the Board, "in preparing a sample sheet of a topographic map such as the United States is prepared to execute in cooperation with the State." Accordingly August 17, 1901, a contract⁴⁷ was signed by C. D. Walcott, Director of the United States Geological Survey, and Dr. Lane, State Geologist of Michigan, for the execution of a cooperative topographic survey of one thirty minute quadrangle between latitudes 40° and $40^{\circ} 30'$ and longitude $83^{\circ} 30'$ and 84° —nearly covering Washtenaw County and portions of adjacent counties on the north, east and south. Thus, following repeated but futile appeals to the Legislature by nearly all the former State Geologists, by the Michigan Academy of Science, Engineering Society, the faculty of the University, Prof. Russell and others, was inaugurated with the very meager funds at the disposal of the State Geologist, a survey which benefits a greater variety of man's pursuits than any other single de-

⁴⁷Ann Report. 1901. p. 261.

partment of the Geological Survey, a survey which had been needed from the establishment of the Survey in 1837, earnestly desired by Douglass Houghton,⁴⁸ and all succeeding geologists and whose value had been demonstrated by the use made of the Menominee sheets prepared by the Federal Survey. According to the agreement between the Director of the Federal Survey and the State Geologist, \$4,000 was to be expended from the Federal Survey and \$2,000 appropriated from the meager general fund of the State Survey. This sum, however, was not sufficient to complete the mapping and the quadrangle was completed at Federal expense.

The satisfactory execution of this map, the repeated urgings of Prof. Russell, endorsements of scientific men and Michigan's representatives in Congress, the earnest solicitations of the members of the University faculties, and the indefatigable efforts of the State Geologist, convinced the Legislature of 1903 of the need of such topographic work, and it therefore appropriated the sum of \$1,000 (!) to continue the work.⁴⁹ This act was a step in the right direction but it did not go far enough—it merely appropriated a small sum to further the work, but the Legislature of 1905 by Act 251 authorized the Board of Geological Survey "to confer with the director or representative of the United States Geological Survey and to accept its cooperation with this State in the preparation and completion of a contour topographic map of this State, which is hereby authorized to be made."⁵⁰

⁴⁸Witness that Act No. 49, 1838 did provide for a topographical department and Act No. 92, 1844 provided a salary for a State Topographer, but the reorganization of 1859 and 1869 made no provision for further topographic work.

⁴⁹Act 178, 1903.

⁵⁰Act 251. Public Acts 1905.

The division of topographic survey has since grown steadily but the State Legislatures during Dr. Lane's administration did not see fit to appropriate sufficient funds to carry the work to the speedy completion in which the Federal Government was willing to cooperate.

The original acts creating the Geological Survey provided also for a zoological and biological Survey of the State⁵¹ but with the reorganization of the Survey in 1869, with lack of that vision which actuated the organizers of the first Survey, and failing to appreciate the economic as well as purely scientific value of a thorough survey of the fauna and flora of the State, the Legislature made no provision for carrying on the biological work; so for thirty-six years a most important field was neglected. The Michigan Academy of Science endeavored to remedy matters and from 1900 brief references are made in the minutes of the Board of Geological Survey to the attempts to re-establish the biological division. Dr. Lane asked for an appropriation of \$1,000 "until we can see what the work needs." In 1903 the Board authorized Dr. Lane to confer with the heads of departments of Zoology and Botany of the University and Agricultural College, Experiment Station and Board of Forestry and submit a plan for the conduct of the Biological Survey. As a result of these activities the Legislature realized that the work of the biological survey would "provide information which if used in legislation will save the State literally millions of dollars in augmented crops and actually return to the people of Michigan hundreds of thousands of dollars in animal food and fur alone. * * that the wild life is a valuable resource and that an inventory and

⁵¹Acts No. 20, Public Acts 1837, and No. 49, Public Acts 1838.

appraisal are necessary to an intelligent administering of this resource," therefore the Legislature enacted⁵² "that the Board of Geological Survey is hereby authorized and required to make under the direction of the State Geologist, appointed by them, a thorough biological survey of the State, embracing a determination of the range and distribution of the various plants and animals inhabiting the State and the relation to their environment and the welfare of man."

The Biological Survey did not lack material for early publication. During the summer of 1904 an ecological study of the Porcupine Mountains, Ontonagon County, and of Isle Royale had been made by an expedition sent out by the University Museum of the University of Michigan under the direction of Dr. C. C. Adams then curator of the museum, with Mr. A. G. Ruthven as chief naturalist of the party. The region of the Porcupines had been prospected over during the early days of mining activity but a half century had elapsed since the sinking of shafts so that the region had reverted practically to its primeval condition. Since the encroachment of civilization had so destroyed habitats and exterminated plant and animal species in the Southern Peninsula it was desirable that collections be made from these primitive regions of the Northern Peninsula before the approach of civilization made it too late.⁵³ Only a few weeks could be devoted during 1904 to the work on Isle Royale but the work was completed in the 1905 season.⁵⁴ These surveys were made at no expense to the State but were made possible through the generosity of public spirited

⁵²Act No. 250, Public Acts 1905.

⁵³The reports of this survey by Mr. Ruthven, Otto McCrary and Dr. Byrant Walker appear in the Annual Report for 1905.

⁵⁴Biological Survey of Michigan 1908, C. C. Adams.

friends of the University Museum, Mr. H. M. Kauffman and Hon. Peter White of Marquette and Dr. Bryant Walker of Detroit.

The prolonged strike of the hard-coal miners in 1902-3 followed by scarcity and high prices of all sorts of fuel led to consideration of all possible sources of available fuel supply, among them peat, since about one-seventh of the area of Michigan was estimated swamp or muck land. Dr. Lane prepared a brief report on peat in 1902, and later assigned to Prof. Davis the task of making extended investigations into the method and accumulation of peat, causes for its variation, in structure and appearance, and its distribution within the State. From these investigations one of the most valuable papers of the biological survey was prepared for publication in 1906.⁵⁵ The demand for this publication proved the wisdom of the establishment of the biological survey, and of presenting to the people of the State accounts of the biologic resources, if there were any doubt of such wisdom.

A biologic survey was made of Walnut Lake in Oakland County by Mr. T. L. Hankinson and associates.⁵⁶ The main object of this survey was to determine why whitefish, which the Michigan Fish Commission had planted in a number of lakes, should thrive in this particular lake when unable to maintain themselves elsewhere—to determine what factors of the Walnut Lake habitat cause the whitefish to flourish there. A knowledge of these conditions makes it possible to determine in what other lakes of the State this valuable food fish may be planted and raised. Other papers of scientific and economic interest were

⁵⁵Annual Rept. 1906.

⁵⁶Ann. Rept. 1907.

well under preparation by 1909 to appear in future publications, i. e. on the *Crataegus* (the Thornapple) of Michigan (Ann. Rept. 1907), crawfish, insect galls, sites of aboriginal remains, etc. *valley*

An outcome of the organization of the biological Survey as a division of the Geological Survey was the recognition by Dr. Lane and the Board of Geological Survey of the wisdom of having an advisory committee, an extra-legal body, of scientific men as a Board of Advisors for the Survey. Accordingly in 1905 Dr. Lane was authorized to appoint such a board consisting of two geologists, two botanists and two zoologists, and chose Dr. L. L. Hubbard and Prof. I. C. Russell, geologists, Prof. Jacob Reighard and Prof. Barrows, zoologists and Mr. W. J. Beal and Prof. F. C. Newcombe, botanists as the first advisory board of the Survey. In 1908 Dr. A. G. Ruthven of the University of Michigan was appointed Chief Naturalist of the Survey.

In 1909 Dr. Lane resigned from the Survey to accept a position in Tufts College. Dr. Lane had been associated with the Survey for more than twenty years, and had watched and fostered its growth from a State department which as an adjunct to the College of Mines had employed the partial services of a State Geologist and a few assistants in work in the Northern Peninsula, to an independent department employing the expert services of a large body of trained scientists in investigations in both Peninsulas, a department not of geology alone, but with the added divisions of topography and biology, thus complying with the wise provisions due to the genius of Douglass Houghton and embodied in the Act 20, 1837, by which the first survey was organized. Though hampered always in

his plans by insufficient appropriations and the apathy, lack of foresight, or utter indifference of the Legislature, Dr. Lane had so firmly established the Third Survey that it was ready to enter that wider scope brought about by his successor. In accepting his resignation the Board of Geological Survey passed the following resolution:

"Whereas, Dr. Alfred C. Lane, for twenty years State Geologist for the State of Michigan, has resigned his position in this capacity, Therefore Be it Resolved by the State Board of Geological Survey that Dr. Lane's resignation is greatly regretted by this Board. His administration has been unprecedented in length of time and unparalleled by amount of publication and marked by uninterruptedly harmonious relations with other Boards and the great schools of the State. Geological work has been fairly distributed in all parts of the State, and without neglecting pure science, economic results have been attained. Among the results obtained have been copper lodes located; the coal production has increased from 50,000 tons to 1,500,000 tons; rock salt is now to be mined; soda, salt, mineral water, limestone, cement and clay industries have been fostered and valuable advice on water supply given. In view of these well known facts be it further

Resolved, that the severing of Dr. Lane's official relations with the work is a distinct loss to the State and that another State is to be congratulated on securing the services of a man who has for so long done valuable work for Michigan, and be it further

Resolved, that a copy of these resolutions be spread on the minutes of the Board of Geological Survey."

MR. R. C. ALLEN, 1909-1919

Dr. Lane's resignation took effect in September, 1909, and he was immediately succeeded by Mr. R. C. Allen as State Geologist.

With the foundation laid by Dr. Lane, the Survey under his successor has been able to build and expand, to take its place as one of the extremely vital forces in the development of the State. With a dynamic director unfettered by academic traditions and ties, the Survey became the dynamic force in Michigan welfare that Douglass Houghton visioned, of "practical and immediate application in the administration and development of State policies and laws bearing upon the development, use, exploitation, and taxation of the natural resources of the State."

A review of the new series of publications is a review of the purely geological work undertaken. A perusal of these publications will show that geology as a pure science has nowhere overshadowed geology as an economic science of daily value to all the citizens of the State. Some of the geological work was undertaken before the present regime but completed and published since 1909. Prof. A. W. Grabau and Prof. W. H. Sherzer completed a study of the Monroe formation.⁵⁷ It may be stated here that from this study and subsequent studies based upon it knowledge was obtained of the valuable glass sand deposits of Monroe County. This was a knowledge of extreme value during the War, since cut off from German sources of optical glass supply, America seemed on the verge of impotence in those researches using optical instruments. An available supply of pure, iron-free glass

⁵⁷Pub. 2, Geol. Ser. 1, 1910.

sand would relieve that condition. Michigan has such glass sand and supplied it and continues to supply it in quantities sufficient for all government uses for high grade optical glass.

"The Monroe Formation of Michigan and Adjoining Regions" is the first of a series of monographs on the Paleozoic formations of Michigan. Four others are still in preparation—the Devonian formations by Professor Grabau, the Marshall and the Coldwater formations by Professor G. H. Girty, and the Niagaran limestones by Mr. George M. Ehlers. These monographs when completed will give an exhaustive history of the Paleozoic geology of the Michigan province and will be a repository of valuable information on the mineral resources and groundwater supplies of the Southern Peninsula and the eastern half of the Northern Peninsula.

Of Dr. Hubbard's proposed county reports two have been completed. Arenac County⁵⁴ by Professor W. M. Gregory, and Wayne County by Prof. Sherzer.⁵⁵ The Wayne County report is written in such a careful and admirable style that it is used as a textbook by teachers of geography in Detroit. This use of the Wayne County report shows that the Survey publications are not written only for pure science and to fill library shelves; more teachers of the State could greatly increase their personal efficiency as well as add to the interest of their classes by a greater use of Survey publications—many of which are prepared by teachers having other teachers in consideration.

⁵⁴Pub. 11, Geol. Ser. 8, 1911.

⁵⁵Pub. 12, Geol. Ser. 9, 1911.

Reports on Sanilac, Monroe and Huron counties. Vol. VII, 1900. The reports on Bay and Tuscola Counties were published in the Annual Reports of 1905 and 1908 respectively during Dr. Lane's administration.

Two other publications show the wide application to State problems—The Surface Geology of the Northern Peninsula⁶⁰ and the Surface Geology of the Southern Peninsula⁶¹ by Frank Leverett. So great was the demand for these publications that the editions were exhausted but were later revised and republished as one volume—Surface Geology of Michigan.⁶² Since Michigan lies within the area of continental glaciation of the Pleistocene ("Great Ice Age") its surface geology is simple in main features but very complex in detail. The surface of the State is covered by "drift" varying from zero to more than a thousand feet in thickness. As the ice front retreated ground moraines and till plains were developed from the debris gathered during the ice advance. Some of this material was sorted by water action, some not, adding to soil complexities. At times a readvance of the ice equalled its retreat, i. e. melting equalled forward movement. At such times and places the debris was piled in tumulated ridges of heterogeneous rocky materials—the "moraines," which, because of the lobate character of the ice-front in the Southern Peninsula form festoons about the Lake Erie and Saginaw Bay depressions. Part of these ridges of hummocky hills, the kames, are water laid or their material water sorted; between the moraines are till plains, back of them the ancient lake beds of Algonquin and Nipissing time when the northeasterly ice-impounded waters extended farther to the south and west than at present. Along glacial and present river valleys are river laid deposits; swamps and lakes of the Ice Age and subsequent time have disappeared leaving palustrine and lacustrine deposits

⁶⁰Pub. 7, Geol. Ser. 5, 1911.

⁶¹Pub. 9, Geol. Ser. 7, 1911.

⁶²Pub. 25, Geol. Ser. 21, 1918.

varying from peat and muck to clay. Such facts account for the complexity in detail of the surface geology of the State, the soils are of great variety and of varying productivity, the surface is of varying slope and elevation, hence complicating the problem of drainage. Only incidental study of these surface conditions had been made until 1904 when Professor I. C. Russell began a series of studies of the glacial (surface) formations of the Northern Peninsula⁶³ and Professor C. A. Davis of peat deposits.⁶³ For the Southern Peninsula Dr. Lane in 1907 published a large scale map of the surface (soil) formations with an explanatory text setting forth also an easily comprehended history of the ice advance and retreat in Michigan. In August, 1905, Mr. Frank Leverett of the United States Geological Survey began studies of the glacial geology in Michigan. In 1910 these studies were made possible and available for Michigan through the courtesy of the Director of the United States Geological Survey in granting the State Geologist's request for Mr. Leverett's services. In the early days, people of the East were dissuaded from settlement in Michigan by reports that most of Michigan was an area of swamps, muskegs and lakes, unfit for habitation of anything but huckleberries and Indians. Most of these falsehoods had been nailed for the Southern Peninsula, but agriculturists were still kept from the Northern Peninsula by the belief (encouraged by the lumberman who wished to preserve his timber) that it is mountainous, barren,—inhospitable to any but the miner and lumberman. But when the forest cover is removed from a region, agriculture develops there. So it is in the Northern Peninsula; the Upper Peninsula Develop-

⁶³Ann. Repts. 1904, 1906.

ment Company was organized late in 1910 and thus the issue of the Surface Geology of the Northern Peninsula with new maps was most opportune. The Southern Peninsula suffered less from long believed tales of its inhospitability to the farmer but there are areas still undeveloped. To meet the demand for information on this territory and to prevent and offset fraudulent land deals by unscrupulous promoters, the Surface Geology of the Southern Peninsula was prepared (with a new 1:1,000,000 map and a chapter on climate). The edition was exhausted, and, as before stated revised and combined with the earlier Northern Peninsula publication and issued in 1918 as the Surface Geology of Michigan. This last publication is in a sense a stop-gap to meet the present needs of a growing and insistent demand for a complete soil survey of the State. The farmer now applies scientific principles to farm management and crop cultivation. He has become an agriculturist. When buying new land, and for land he already owns, he demands more detailed information as to soil and subsoil conditions, ground water level and control, soil composition, texture, structure, and absorptive properties, the type of fertilizer needed and its source of supply, and types of crops suitable to the land. The State Geologist and the Board of the Geological Survey recognized this demand and in the minutes of the meetings of the Board we find references to a soil survey from 1910. In 1912 we find in the Director's report "The law of 1869 * * * authorizes and directs you to investigate soils and subsoils in their relation to agriculture and to publish and disseminate this information among the people. * * * The State Geologist has had prepared and issued general soil maps of the State * * * these

soil survey

maps still constitute the basis of accurate and reliable information regarding the soils of Michigan * * . A private edition of 65,000 copies of this map of the Northern Peninsula was authorized and issued and the Board of State Auditors have had printed 20,000 of the Southern Peninsula maps for the use of the Commissioner of Immigration. These maps are extensively used by the College of Agriculture and large numbers are being distributed by the State Geologist on requests from all parts of the country. The maps are general in scope and scale and do not permit of detail * * ". The Director then discussed plans of cooperation with the Federal Bureau of Soils and suggested legislation for a soil survey. Gov. W. N. Ferris devoted a considerable part of his inaugural message to the need of a soil survey and the Legislature of 1915 discussed the plan but the matter was held in abeyance until the 1917 session of the Legislature when Representative M. H. Wiley introduced a bill providing for a soil and economic survey of the State. This bill became a law upon the affixing of the Governor's signature May 11, 1917, to No. 373 Public Acts 1917. Though Michigan has a law authorizing the making of a soil and land survey the exigencies of war time and the number of soil geologists withdrawn from civilian pursuits to the military establishment made it inadvisable to initiate the soil survey at that time.

The demands for Publication 7, 9 and 25 because of the information, although meager, which they contain in regard to agricultural drainage, the paucity of accurate and reliable information on drainage problems in Michigan, the acute problem of drainage in the Saginaw Valley, all show the urgent need of a State

survey of drainage conditions. Proper study and solution of the drainage problems are however bound up in and partially dependent on the topographic survey. But the topographic survey has progressed slowly due to insufficient funds and the drainage problems are becoming acute. Men of various pursuits became interested and involved in the problem—members of the Michigan Engineering Society, State Highway Department, United States Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Public Roads, the Association of County Drain Commissioners, the courts,⁶⁴—until it became the practically unanimous opinion of engineers, commissioners, drainage experts, judges, that there should be an early and thorough revision of the Michigan Drain Laws “and that in order to afford the Legislature a basis for the most intelligent consideration of this matter, a thorough investigation of the whole drainage system of the State should be made together with a review of the progress and laws of other States in connection with our present needs.” Accordingly in October 1917 the Board of Geological Survey authorized cooperation with the United States Department of Agriculture in a drainage investigation of the State. An agreement was entered into between the Board and the Bureau of Public Roads, Department of Agriculture, in pursuance of which during 1918 every county in the State was visited by an engineer representative of Drainage Investigations, Bureau of Public Roads, conferences were held with each county drain commissioner relative to drainage in his county, drain records were examined and data abstracted and compiled, county officials were interviewed, field trips made and drains investigated. The results of these

⁶⁴City of Saginaw et al. vs. Drain Commissioner.

investigations are embodied in a report⁶⁵ which contains also a history of the development of agricultural drainage in Michigan, a discussion of types of drainage and certain drainage problems, suggestions for improving the drainage conditions, suggested legislation, and abstracts of working drainage laws of Ohio, Wisconsin, Iowa, Missouri and Georgia, States having drainage problems similar to those of Michigan. The report was prepared for the Legislature and the county drain commissioners, but although a bill to remedy drainage conditions was introduced the Legislature of 1919 adjourned without passing the much needed law.

The Northern Peninsula, especially west of the meridian of Marquette, presents many problems to intrigue the interest of the mining geologist. The once scorned territory that contains Michigan's famed mineral wealth in iron and copper, also, as a part of the Lake Superior District, holds a key to the pre-Cambrian problem.

Naturally from the earliest survey these facts have caused more emphasis to be placed on geological work in the western half of the Peninsula than in the eastern where economic geology is similar to that in the Southern Peninsula and the purely scientific problems are of the less complex Paleozoic type. The investigations and solution of the geological complexities of this region—often made more difficult of solution by the overlying mantle of glacial drift—the study and mapping of pre-Cambrian rocks with particular reference to the determination of the age and correlation of the various formations and the economic uses, if any, to which these formations or any part may be devoted

⁶⁵Pub. 28, G. S. 23, 1919.

—have been for a number of years and are still the problems of Mr. Allen and his chief assistant, L. P. Barrett.

The results of these investigations which in some instances disprove and set aside the theories advanced by other geologists are set forth in the Survey Publications 3, 16, 18.

The enabling acts of 1869 and 1871 authorize the Director of the Geological Survey "to make a thorough * * * mineralogical survey of the State" but in 1877 by Act No. 9 the Legislature authorized the appointment of a Commissioner of Mineral Statistics whose duties were "to make an annual report to the Governor, setting forth in detail the mineral statistics for the year with the progress and development of the mining and smelting industries; * * to make such geological surveys and other surveys as are needed for fully carrying out the purposes of this act; to observe and to record by maps and plans when necessary special facts which may be developed in the progress of mining and exploration * * to collect typical suites of copper, iron and other ores * * and examine them microscopically, to name and classify them, showing by geological sections their stratigraphical positions, * * " The act was amended in 1879, 1883, 1895 to make appropriations, provide for publication and to limit the term of the commissioner.

It will be noted that the act provides another department whose work and duties by law duplicate those of the Geological Survey. There may have been reason for such an act during the directorate of Dr. Rominger, who rather scorned assistants and with the eccentricities of genius preferred to work alone, therefore, since he had other duties also as a professor.

in the University, conducting the Survey for twelve years in a somewhat desultory and very leisurely manner. A lover of pure science and a not-to-be-hurried student, it is conceivable that Dr. Rominger would view with distaste the collection of statistics. But why the law was made and why the commissioner of mineral statistics was not made an officer of the Geological Survey is not known. Despite a few excellent reports from some commissioners the office was a failure. Some commissioners made no reports at all—this may have been due to the defect in the law which ordered the commissioner to pay for printing and distribution of reports, office expenses, etc., from the \$2,500 which he drew as *salary* from the State. That the commissioners recognized the duplication of efforts is shown by Charles D. Lawton writing in 1891, "The duties of the office **are purely scientific and identical or nearly so with those which pertain to the office of the State Geologist. But in practice it has been found better to make the reports of the Commissioner statistical and economic, avoiding lithology and introducing only economic geology to the descriptions of the mines and mineral formations." In 1892 the Board of Geological Survey said: "We are unable to see any reason for the existence of a Commissioner of Mineral Statistics independent of the Geological Survey. The work of that office naturally falls under the supervision of the Survey and could be better done by it than by such commissioners." In April 1910 at a meeting of the Board of Scientific Advisers Dr. L. L. Hubbard explained "That it is the unanimous opinion of the mining interest of the Northern Peninsula that the State Geologist should be charged with the duties now devolving upon the Commissioner of

Mineral Statistics" and a motion was made and carried "that the State Geologist incorporate in his future annual reports, geological descriptions and sections of the various mines of the State and so far as possible a report of the general situation with regard to the mining industry." Accordingly with the consent and approval of the Board of Geological Survey the State Geologist requested the Governor and Legislature to abolish the office of Commissioner of Mineral Statistics, setting forth his reasons in a letter to Governor Osborn, December 6, 1910. As a result the Legislature of 1911 by Act No. 7 repealed Act No. 9 of 1877 and transferred the duties of the Commissioner of Mineral Statistics to the State Board of Geological Survey, "to continue the collection of statistics, the conducting of investigations, the making of reports and all other duties as specified in said Act No. 9 of the public acts of 1877." Since this act went into effect there have been issued eight annual reports⁶⁶ of the mineral resources of the State.⁶⁶ Each publication contains a review of the copper industry in Michigan, a resume and statistical tables of the miscellaneous metallic and non-metallic minerals, and a directory of mineral producers. Each report contains also a more or less lengthy treatise on some one or two non-metallic industries. To amplify these reports the Survey has published two reports on economic geology "Occurrence of Oil and Gas in Michigan"⁶⁷ by R. A. Smith and "Brine and Salt Deposits of Michigan"⁶⁸ by Charles W. Cook, the latter publication being a treatise presented by Mr. Cook and accepted for the doctor's degree by the faculty of the University of Michigan.

⁶⁶Pub. 8, G. S. 6, Pub. 13, G. S. 10, Pub. 16, G. S. 12, Pub. 19, G. S. 16, Pub. 21, G. S. 17, Pub. 24, G. S. 20, Pub. 27, G. S. 22, Pub. 29, G. S. 24.

⁶⁷Pub. 14, G. S. 11, 1911.

⁶⁸Pub. 15, G. S. 12, 1913.

A very important development from the work of the Survey in collecting mineral statistics is the co-operative work of the Survey with the Board of State Tax Commissioners. The plan of cooperation is an outgrowth of the "Finlay appraisals" of iron mines in 1911. The fact that these appraisals were too high and former tax valuations altogether too low made evident the wisdom of close supervision over the assessment of such property by a central authority—the Board of State Tax Commissioners—the "Tax Commission." The Board of Tax Commissioners decided on an annual reappraisal of the iron mines, and knowing that the Geological Survey has on its files records and information dealing with the geology and mineral resources of the region in question and that the State Geologist, Mr. Allen, by his scientific interest in and special studies of the region and his highly trained technical knowledge is peculiarly fitted to assist in the geological considerations of the appraisal, the Board of Tax Commissioners requested him to assist in the appraisal of the iron mines of Gogebie, Iron and Dickinson Counties. Mr. Allen was requested to submit to the Commission his ideas in regard to the establishment of permanent cooperative relations with the Survey. Accepting the conclusions and tentative plans of Mr. Allen the Board of Tax Commissioners conveyed to the Governor a resolution pointing out the necessity of cooperation with the Board of Geological Survey. The plan⁶⁹ was approved by the Board of Geological Survey and its Board of Scientific Advisors, and was given legal sanction by the Legislature of 1913 through an appropriation of funds to the Geological

⁶⁹Rept. Board of State Tax Commissioners 1913-14.

Survey for the purpose of assisting the Tax Commission.⁷⁰

The system devised by Mr. Allen and the Tax Commission is the first strictly scientific system of mine appraisal for taxation established and maintained by a Board of Tax Commissioners, and the Geological Survey of Michigan is the first survey to adapt itself to the needs of administration of the tax laws. The system has attracted attention throughout the country; it is pronounced by the National Tax Association the most admirable that may be devised; and it is the system recommended in final consideration by Dr. L. E. Young, Economist of the University of Illinois who has made an intensive study of the whole subject of mine taxation in the United States.⁷¹ The system has now been in operation nine years and has proven fair and equitable to mine owners and the State and has maintained the assessment of mining property at its full cash value.

Cooperation is also extended to the Public Domain Commission. This commission is required by law to reserve all mineral rights in the sale of State lands, and the determination of mineral rights naturally falls to the Geological Survey. In 1916 the attention of the Commission was brought to the fact that various dredging companies were removing sand and gravel from the lake bottoms and shores of Lakes Michigan, Huron, and St. Clair. Residents along Lake St. Clair claimed considerable damage was being done the beaches by the removal of shore sand and gravel. The State Geologist was consulted concerning these cases of trespass by the sand and gravel dredgers and

⁷⁰Act No. 341, Pub. Acts 1913.

⁷¹Mine Taxation in the United States, Lewis Emmanuel Young, E.M., Ph.D. University of Illinois Studies in Social Service, Volume V. No. 4, 1916.

in cases considering royalty rates on sand and gravel dredged from the waters under the control of the State. Perhaps the most important cooperation with the Public Domain Commission has been with the Biological Division of the Survey and will be considered later.

Interdepartmental cooperation has been maintained since 1913 with the Michigan Securities Commission in administration of the so-called "Blue Sky Law"⁷² which requires the Securities Commission to consider and prevent or allow the sales of stocks, bonds, and securities in Michigan, so protecting the investor from fraudulent or unsafe speculations. The Commission may require and make "a detailed examination of such investment company's property, business and affairs, which examination shall be at the expense of such investment company. It may cause an appraisal to be made including the value of patents, goodwill, promotion and intangible assets" Under this provision of the law examination and valuation of mining, oil, gas, coal and other mineral development companies is undertaken and directed by the Survey. The cooperation requires investigations of mineral lands in many other States as well as in Michigan—of coal in Pennsylvania, Virginia, Illinois, Ohio, of oil in Texas, Oklahoma, Kansas, Wyoming, of copper in Colorado, and so on.

It will be remembered that by Act No. 251 of the Public Acts of 1905 a topographical survey of the State was authorized to be made in cooperation with the Federal Survey. The plan of the Federal Survey is to make a topographic map of the entire country under a

⁷²Act No. 46, Public Acts of 1915.

uniform plan to be used in all the States. The Federal Survey with its large corps of trained topographers and ample experience and equipment is able to maintain a high standard of work at the lowest possible cost. It offers to meet the State dollar for dollar to the extent of \$25,000 a year in order to secure cooperation and expedition in the work. For ten years the Legislatures saw fit to meet this generous offer with a most inadequate sum, and the making of the topographic map of Michigan lagged while in many other States it was hurried to completion. Michigan has entered an era of rapid development and improvement. Agricultural drainage, good roads, local hydrographic and sanitation problems, problems of State and County boundaries, military operations—in fact all public works demand accurate maps of topographic conditions. The city of Jackson has recently completed an elaborate large scale map with a one-foot contour interval, to be used in city sanitary engineering problems. This map was completed at a cost to the city of about \$80,000. Such maps are needed by all other large or rapidly growing cities of the State, for engineering problems in connection with water supply and sanitation if for no other purpose. Recent Legislatures have in a measure recognized the untold value of the topographic map⁷³ and have appropriated much larger sums for the completion of the topographic map of the State. Only 16 per cent. of the State or a little more than 9,600 square miles is as yet adequately mapped. The mapping of certain parts of the State, the Leonidas, Union City, Battle Creek, Galesburg

⁷³The maps are executed on a scale of 1:625,000 in units or quadrangles 15' of latitude by 15' of longitude, and register with adjacent quadrangles making it easy to combine separate sheets to form a map of a larger area—county, drainage district or system, or natural physiographic province.

and Kalamazoo quadrangles was hastened by the War,—by the need for topographic maps for military use in and about Camp Custer. The Battle Creek and Galesburg maps are also published on one sheet as the Camp Custer quadrangle.

A most interesting cooperative work of the topographic branch was in the relocation and marking of the Ohio-Michigan boundary line. The historical cartographical blunders which led to the original boundary disputes and the settlement of the dispute by acceptance of Ohio's claims and the gift to Michigan of statehood and the (then considered almost worthless) Upper Peninsula are well known. During the years that had elapsed since the 1836 and 1842 surveys, many of the original boundary marks—stakes, fences, etc.,—had been obliterated, the eastern terminus,—the most northerly cape of Maumee Bay had been washed away for many years, and because increasing land values caused disputes it became advisable to permanently settle the long dispute by accurate relocation and permanent monumenting of the boundary. Accordingly upon the passing of laws by the legislatures of Michigan⁷⁴ and Ohio⁷⁵ authorizing the retracement and appropriating funds (\$3,600 by each State) an agreement was entered into with the Federal Survey for the employment of Mr. S. S. Gannett, Chief Geographer of the United States Geological Survey, "to act as engineer in executing the field work under the direction of the commission"—Mr. R. C. Allen, Director of the Michigan Geological Survey and Prof. C. E. Sherman, Inspector Ohio Topographic Survey. The surveying party under

⁷⁴Act No. 84, Public Acts 1915.

⁷⁵House Bill 701, Eighty-first General Assembly of Ohio.

direction of Mr. Gannett took the field July 12, 1915, and on October 26 following had completed all surveying and placed all the monuments. The monuments are enduring granite posts five and one-half feet in length, one foot square, imbedded in concrete to a depth of four feet. The posts are lettered "Michigan" on the north side, "Ohio" on the south, "State Line" on the east and "Post" on the west. The initial or terminal western post, a block of granite replacing the original "niggerhead" boulder, is twelve inches below the surface of the road in Lat. $40^{\circ}41'46.2''$, north, and Long. $84^{\circ}48'21.1''$ west. The eastern terminal post, Post 71 is set in swampy land a little more than 900 feet from Maumee Bay, therefore Post 70 is the "Monument Post." The completion of the survey and the setting of the Monument Post was appropriately celebrated November 25, 1915. Thus in a very amicable way was forever settled the disputed points in the boundary line between the two States.⁷⁶

The biological division of the Survey which was re-established by Act No. 250 of the Public Acts of 1905 is supervised by Dr. A. G. Ruthven, Chief Naturalist of the Survey. The Biological Survey is both an inventory and an appraisal of the wild life of the State and should be of recognized economic value to the citizens of the State. However the appropriations for so great a work are ridiculously small but the work accomplished has been great since the men engaged have done the work with personal sacrifices and a cost to the State of practically field expenses only. "At present most of the resources are being devoted to the

⁷⁶The report of the Commissioners is given in detail in the Biennial Reports of the Director of the Michigan Geological Survey, Pub. 22, G. S. 18, 1916.

determination of the animal and plant life of the different sections of the State. The main activity is thus the making of an inventory. Men are engaged each year to go to selected areas and list and obtain samples of fauna and flora." The zoological collections are assigned to the University Museum, the botanical to the Michigan Agricultural College. "In the course of this work they make as extensive studies of habits and abundance as is possible in the time available * * * " Some of the results obtained have been published, with the consent of the Chief Naturalist, in scientific journals and Museum Publications—at no cost to the State—in order to be placed before the public in as short a time as possible. Other reports have been published by the Survey.⁷⁷

The Public Domain Commission has sought the aid of the Chief Naturalist in carrying out its chief purpose—the conservation of the wild life of the State, and has cooperated with the Survey to the extent of financing one field season for Prof. Sponslor's work in a survey of the woodlots and timberlands of Michigan.

Nor did the War find the Survey unprepared. The War Minerals Council of the Committee of National Defense found in the Survey records without special investigations, an adequate source of information concerning those minerals needed. Mr. R. A. Smith was called upon from time to time to furnish such information. Two members of the staff en-

⁷⁷Crawfishes of Michigan, Insect Galls, Birds of Schoolgirls' Glen; Preliminary lists of sites of aboriginal remains: Pub. 1, Biol. Ser. 1, 1909. Biological Survey of the Sand Dune Region on the South Shore of Saginaw Bay: Pub. 4, Biol. Ser. 2, 1911. Herpetology of Michigan: Pub. 10, Biol. Ser. 3, 1911. Miscellaneous Papers on the Zoology of Michigan: Pub. 20, B. S. 4, 1915. Agaricaceae (Gilled Fungi) of Michigan: Pub. 26, B. S. 5, 1918. Michigan Fishes, and Michigan Wild Plants in preparation.

listed in active warfare in France, Captain O. R. Hamilton commanded Company B 28th Engineers which he had recruited, and Captain L. P. Barrett served in the 5th Field Artillery. The Director served in Washington as a member of the Board of Tax Reviewers.

Following the Armistice the Survey prepared to return to more intensive work in the economic field. The routine work of the War period gave way to more precise geological investigations and to plans for expansion with the return of that portion of the staff engaged in active War work and military operations. Topographic mapping was renewed, and plans were made for appraisals of the copper as well as the iron mines, and for investigations of various economic and geological problems related to the mineral industries.

As a result of increased need for competent geologists in the post-War reconstruction of the industries of the country Mr. R. C. Allen was made numerous flattering overtures by various mining and mineral interests. October 1, 1919, Mr. Allen resigned as State Geologist of Michigan to become the general manager and vice-president of the Lake Superior Iron Ore Association—a position offering flattering inducements and at the same time allowing Mr. Allen to remain in touch with his especial scientific problem—the solution of the geologic puzzle of the pre-Cambrian area of the Lake Superior District.

The Board of Geological Survey on October 28, 1919, appointed Mr. Richard A. Smith to the office of State Geologist and Director of the Geological Survey of the State. Mr. Smith has been connected with the Survey since 1909 as Assistant State Geologist

and was practically acting director during Mr. Allen's absence in Washington.

In brief review the Third Survey organized by law in 1869 to make a mineralogical and geological survey of the State has been expanded by various acts of the Legislature until now it consists of three main departments: Geological, with the divisions of Geology, Appraisals and Mineral Statistics; Topographical; and Biological. The Survey is housed in offices on the fourth floor of the Capitol National Bank Building. It has investigated and is investigating the geology, physiography,⁷⁸ drainage, topography, economic resources in metals and non-metals, fauna and flora of the State as well as assisting other departments of the State government particularly in the appraisal of mines for taxation purposes. "The Survey as now organized occupies a unique position among the similar organizations of other States because it has led the way in adapting the results of its scientific investigations as well as the technical ability of its staff to the practical needs of the State not only in the development, use and conservation of our natural resources but also in the direct administration of some of the important laws. The Board and its staff have seized on every opportunity for useful service so far as the facilities and funds have permitted."

It has not been possible in this sketch of the history of the Survey to review the work of all the geologists and their assistants, and it has been necessary to neglect entirely the work of many others who have directly or indirectly furthered the work of the Survey. To enumerate them all would be to recall the

⁷⁸Scott, I. D., *The Inland Lakes of Michigan*: Pub. 30, G. S. 25, Michigan Geological Survey.

names of geologists, mineralogists, biologists, topographers, and others connected with the various educational institutions of this and other States, and with the Federal Survey whose studies have enriched the literature and contributed to the present fund of knowledge of the geology and natural history of Michigan as well as those private individuals whose generosity and interest in scientific pursuits have made many of the studies possible. All have believed in and sought to make the world see the truth of the motto on the State coat of arms—"Si quaeris peninsulam amoenam circumspice."

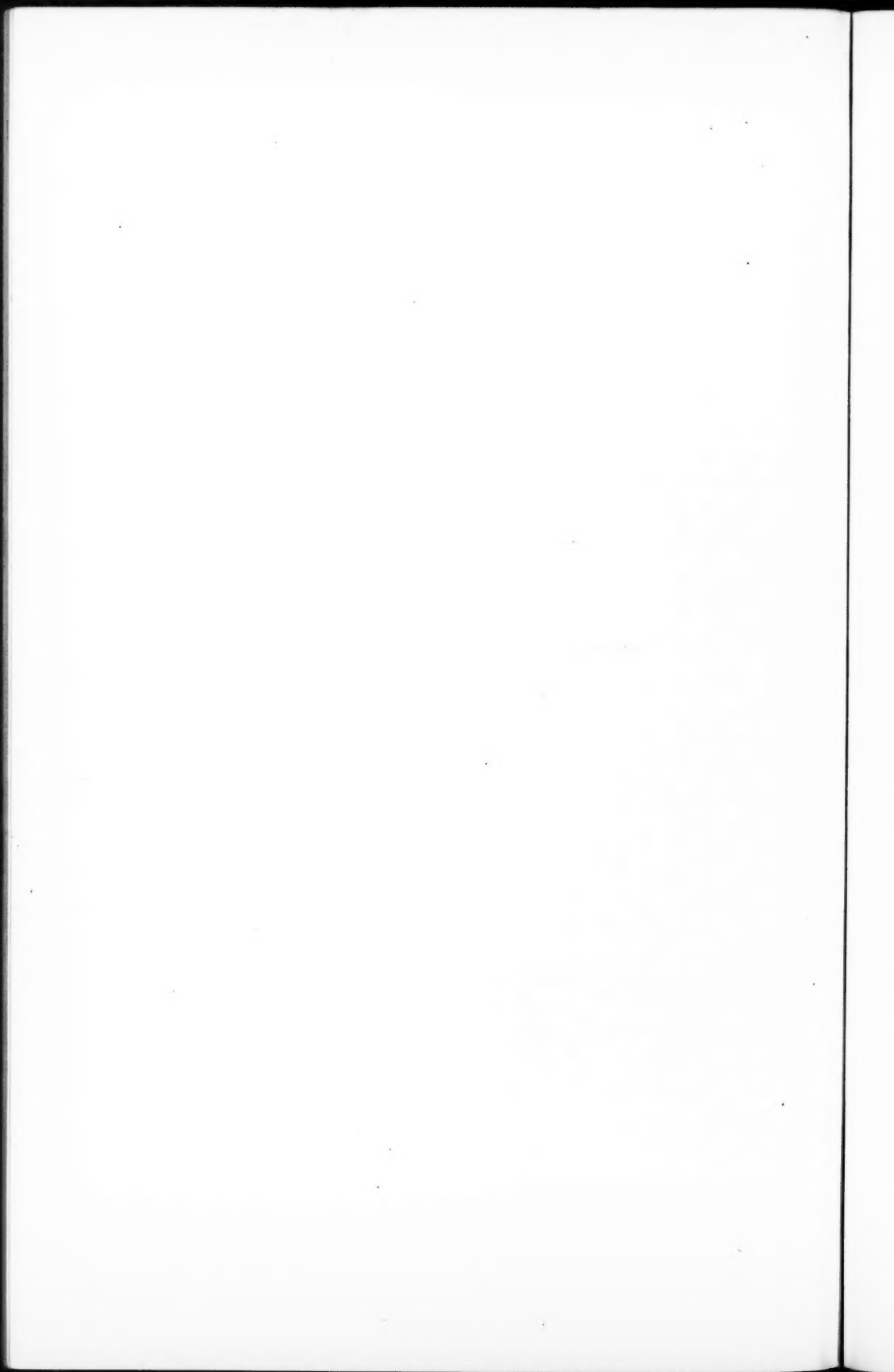
AFTERWORD

As a result of the legislation of 1921 the powers and duties of the Board of Geological Survey were transferred to the Department of Conservation of the State. The Legislature did not see fit to make appropriations for the vitally necessary topographic survey, the soil and land survey, or the biological survey. The work of these divisions is now at a standstill. The interdepartmental relations and cooperations still remain, and the geological work continues. In the summers of 1920, 1921 parties under the direction of Mr. L. P. Barrett and Dr. W. I. Robinson (who joined the staff after the resignation of Mr. O. R. Hamilton and Mr. O. W. Wheelwright) made exploration of the iron formations of the Northern Peninsula; and Mr. R. C. Hussey was engaged in a study of the Ordovician shale group, Mr. Hussey's investigation being carried on in cooperation with the University of Michigan. During 1919 and 1920 Prof. I. D. Scott completed his Studies of the inland lakes of the State. The results of these studies are embodied in

an admirable text and a descriptive report, *The Inland Lakes of Michigan*.⁷⁸ An economic survey of the clays and shales of Michigan has been undertaken by Mr. G. G. Brown of the University of Michigan, under the direction of the State Geologist with the cooperation of the Department of Chemical Engineering of the University. Early in 1922 the long proposed and demanded soil and land economic survey and census of natural resources was inaugurated in cooperation with the State Department of Agriculture, the Michigan Agricultural College and the University of Michigan, with Mr. R. A. Smith, State Geologist, acting as Director of the Michigan Land Economic Survey.

⁷⁸Scott, I. D., *The Inland Lakes of Michigan*: Pub. 30, G. S. 25, Michigan Geological Survey.

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